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and employment among internal  
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Tania Vásquez Luque  
Jorge Morel Salman  
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## **Abstract**

The impact of COVID-19 on Peru's inequalities is a unique case. The resultant loss of human life and economic recession triggered the internal mobility of Peru's citizens towards rural areas.

The study used a mixed-methods approach to address the consequences of COVID-19 in this challenging setting, identifying both territorial and individual factors associated with the country's internal and international migration trends. The study suggests no quantitative change in labour conditions for international and internal migrant workers since 2020 but does indicate slightly decreased salaries compared with the rest of the population. However, according to qualitative findings, working conditions have declined for both migrant types (internal and international) because of increased working hours and less available income. Structural vulnerability in Peru's labour markets, associated with informality, lack of social protection, and gender-related constraints for women, have impacted both types of migrants, although in different ways.

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## Acronyms and abbreviations

|              |  |
|--------------|--|
| <b>EAP</b>   | Economically Active Population                           |
| <b>ENAHO</b> | National Household Survey                                |
| <b>IEP</b>   | Institute of Peruvian Studies                            |
| <b>INEI</b>  | National Institute of Statistics and Informatics of Peru |
| <b>IOM</b>   | International Organization for Migration                 |
| <b>MTPE</b>  | Ministry of Work and Promotion of Employment             |
| <b>SDGs</b>  | Sustainable Development Goals                            |

# The impact of COVID-19 on work and employment among internal and international migrant workers in Peru

Tania Vásquez Luque  
Jorge Morel Salman  
José Mendoza Sánchez

## Introduction

From 2000–2019, Peru was one of the fastest-growing economies in the world, recording positive macroeconomic performance year-on-year and a decreased rate of poverty by nearly 30% over this period (Borgen Project, 2021; Mendoza, 2022; Gonzáles, 2015). However, in 2020, the country experienced the most significant recession in Latin America as a result of the COVID-19 crisis (Farizia & Fowkes, 2020). Peru had an 11% reduction in GDP while hitting the world record of COVID-related deaths by population per capita at 6,000 deaths for every 1 million Peruvians (World Bank, 2021; Worldmeter, 2023). The labour market was deeply affected: 6 million jobs were lost between April and June 2020, and the working population declined by 40% as a result of job losses (Cueva et al., 2020). Independent workers and people employed by micro enterprises experienced a 60% job loss during the worst of the lockdown (Instituto Peruano de Economía, 2020, p. 3).



**Comparing internal and international migrants in the context of COVID-19 is key to determine if new inequalities are arising as a result of the overlapping effects of the pandemic and the Venezuelan humanitarian crisis.**

Peru's informal sector was especially impacted. Ranking eighth in Latin America and the Caribbean for the largest rate of informal employment (World Economics, 2023), Peru found its informal workers—those without guaranteed labour rights—exceptionally vulnerable to the pandemic's repercussions (Jaramillo & Ñopo, 2020). In this regard, 54% of informal workers reported job losses as opposed to 37% of their formal counterparts (those recognised through a contract or tax identification number [TIN]).

Furthermore, the pandemic triggered a complex economic and health crisis that overlapped with Venezuela's humanitarian crisis. 1.29 million Venezuelan migrants arrived in Peru between 2016 and 2020 (United States Agency for International Development, n.d.). Peru's long history of internal migration from the Andean regions to Lima and the Amazon Basin<sup>1</sup>, did not prepare the country for the challenges brought by the unprecedented number of international migrants who keep arriving since 2016.<sup>2</sup>

Coinciding with the Venezuelan migratory crisis, the pandemic's lockdown policies triggered the return of over 200,000 Peruvian citizens to their hometowns in the Andes, in a reverse mobility phenomenon (Morezuelas et al., 2021; Fort et al., 2021). Since 2020, rural areas have been unable to provide returnees with the same level of income or public services they were used to in Peru's largest coastal cities.

As a result, inequality in Peru has soared. Poverty has increased 15% among rural households, 10% in Lima, and 13% in urban areas in the coastal regions (United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, 2020). Relatedly, Peru's specific challenges that contribute to the rising inequalities. High levels of informal employment, unequal access to healthcare, persistent intra-regional disparities in education and wages, and entrenched gendered inequalities, would significantly deter a rapid recovery from the pandemic (Cueva et al., 2020).

This study shines a light on the challenges faced by a vulnerable workforce comprising both international migrants and internal migrants grappling with structural issues like informality. By examining and contrasting the situations of these two groups in the context of COVID-19, we can identify potential new inequalities that might have emerged due to the compounded effects of the pandemic and the Venezuelan humanitarian crisis. This comparative approach is crucial as it allows for an exploration of distinct experiences within the migrant population. Any discrepancies in the experiences of internal and international migrants could point towards new or deepening inequalities, particularly those brought about by different levels of access to social protection, support networks, and the informal or formal sectors of the economy. The insights gleaned from

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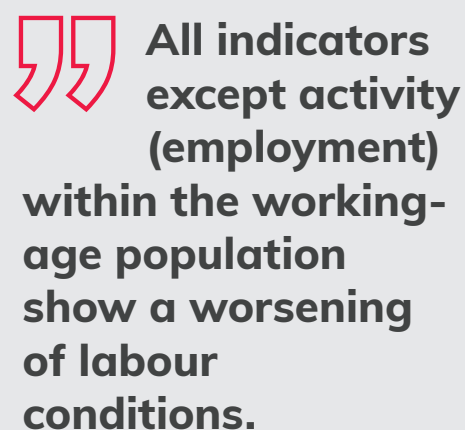
1 Data from Peru's last three population censuses reveal that 10 out of 25 departments are the most attractive for internal migrants in Peru. Typically, these contain the largest cities: Lima, La Libertad, Arequipa, and Trujillo, among others. On the other hand, there are 15 expelling departments that represent 60% of Peru's departments.

2 Regarding international migration, 2021 data shows that most immigrants in Peru come from South America: an overwhelming majority being Venezuelans (86.8%), followed by Colombians (3.3%). The country had not experienced such a massive international migrant influx for over a century—when Asian and European citizens settled in Peru at the end of the 19th century.

this comparison will then inform necessary and appropriate policy recommendations to bolster the employability of migrants in the post-pandemic landscape.

This paper furthers the existing literature by offering three distinctive insights. Primarily, it scrutinises the implementation of migration policies, with an emphasis on international migrants within Peru's social context, underscoring a noted lack of employment policies connected with mobility. Moreover, it uncovers the interconnectedness of internal and international migration—usually studied in isolation—to facilitate a more comprehensive understanding of labour conditions in post-pandemic Peru. The study also provides an in-depth analysis of how various types of migrants in Peru navigated the challenging employment conditions during the pandemic, often juggling multiple jobs or leaning on social networks to endure the lockdown restrictions.

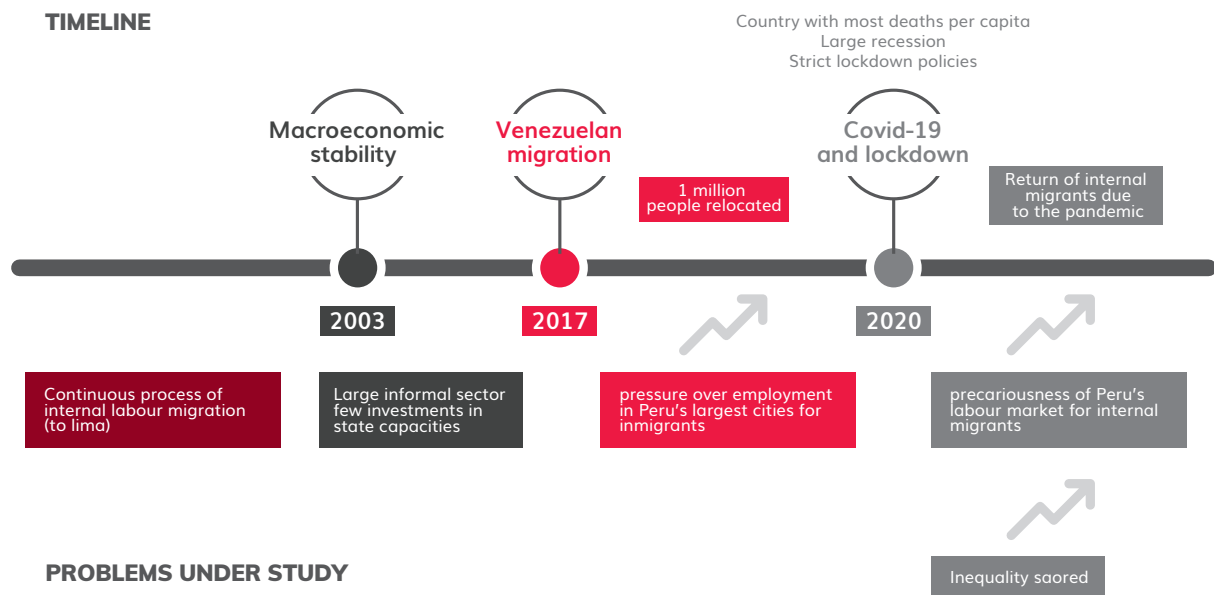
Through this multi-faceted approach, our research first sought to understand COVID-19's impacts on employment levels among migrants, delving into shifts within the formal and informal sectors, changes to work hours, and variations in income. Subsequently, our focus turned towards exploring triggers for these changes, such as the dynamics of the informal economy, gender inequality, and cultural influences. This included probing questions about the relationship between these factors and inequalities in working hours and labour income before and after the pandemic, the permanency of observed changes, and the effects on the sustainable development goals (SDGs) agenda. Lastly, we evaluated the efficacy of policies enacted during the pandemic to mitigate its negative impacts, with an aim to guide government efforts towards creating decent work experiences (SDG 8) for migrant workers (SDG 10) in cities and communities of relocation.



**All indicators  
except activity  
(employment)  
within the working-  
age population  
show a worsening  
of labour  
conditions.**

The following figure depicts the main contextual elements that provide an overview of the study's objectives.

Figure 1. Timeline and problems under study



Note. Elaborated by the authors.

## Literature review

A growing body of literature examines the trends and impacts of internal and international migration in Peru, particularly in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic. This literature review provides insight into the situation of internal and international migrants, the Peruvian government's reaction to migration in the midst of COVID-19, and the influx of Venezuelan migrants. It also investigates migrants' circumstances during the pandemic.

First discussed are papers covering Venezuelan migration, followed by studies on internal Peruvian migration, and finally, the Peruvian government's response to these forms of migration in light of the pandemic.

A qualitative study conducted in 2018—the period of greatest migrant arrival following the onset of Venezuela's economic crisis—found that there are no labour integration policies for the Venezuelan population (Koechlin et al., 2018). This is particularly

true for migrants with labour specialisation that could otherwise be easily integrated into the job market (Koechlin et al., 2018, p. 90). Beyond the creation of the temporary residence permit<sup>3</sup>, during the years 2017–2019, there was a clear absence of integration and support policies for international migrants in Peru, who are mostly Venezuelans.

In a 2019 International Organization for Migration (IOM) study on the impact of Venezuelan immigration on the Lima labour market, Arequipa and Piura suggest that international migration waves have not displaced Peruvians from formal and informal jobs, and that wages have remained stable (Solórzano et al., 2019, pp. 66–67). Vera and Jimenez similarly found that the arrival of Venezuelans into Peru is not causing employment losses in the informal sector for the majority of Peruvians, at least in the short term (2019, p. 50).

Moreover, a 2021 study analysed changes to migration and employment legislation, tracing back to the initial waves of Venezuelan migration in 2016. Blouin (2021a) discovered a discrepancy between the Peruvian government's professed humanitarian concerns for Venezuelan citizens residing in Peru and the intentions declared by home secretary officials. The latter focused on granting residency based on principles of extensive surveillance over migrants and the security of Peru's borders. In effect, residency was granted through a process that was not only protracted but also prioritised short-term permits—up to one year—and included extensive background checks for criminal activity.

Vásquez, De los Ríos, and Rodríguez (2021) found that the employment conditions for Venezuelan migrants prior to the pandemic were precarious. Over 88% lacked a labour contract, 72% were working for small companies (companies that sold less than 2.2 million USD per year) which are more susceptible to job dismissal in the face of economic crises, and 66% were employed in sectors with workers at high risk of unemployment. They also had longer working hours and lower pay than their Peruvian counterparts, which notably worsened during the pandemic (Vásquez et al., 2021, p. 59). During the pandemic, many Venezuelan migrants engaged in informal self-employment, while those who were payroll-dependent faced reduced wages and increased working hours due to labour oversupply (Vásquez et al., 2021, pp. 68–69). Table 1 provides an overview of the main elements raised by the literature on international and internal migration in the Peruvian case.

---

3 In January 2017, the Peruvian authorities established the temporary residence permit which provided a window of up to two years for Venezuelans to remain in the country, legally permitted them to find employment, and paved the way for potential long-term residence.

Table 1. Key characteristics of internal and international migrants, and critical differences between the groups

| Variables                               | Internal migrants  | International migrants   |
|---|--|--|
| <b>Background information</b>           | Major waves of internal migration since the 1940s and up to the 1970s.   | No major international migration to Peru during the 20th century.  |
| <b>Main characteristics of migrants</b> | Low-income, Quichua-speaking rural people in the Andes.  | Educated former middle-classes deeply affected by the Venezuelan humanitarian crisis (2016–ongoing).   |
| <b>Migration episode under study</b>    | Labour migration before and during 2020 (during lockdown).   | 2017–2020 migration, interrupted by COVID-19.  |
| <b>Main routes of migration</b>         | Andean rural towns to large cities in the coast of Peru, particularly Lima. Also, migration to relatively new settlements in the Amazon Basin.   | Refers to the connection between household income and the costs of available services (Milne, 2006, p. 2).   |
| <b>Support during COVID-19</b>          | Two cash transfers by the government.<br><br>General measures to support the population: transfers to local governments and social programs to provide basic/staple food to the population.  | One-off cash transfer and humanitarian kits provided by international organisations in Peru (UN agencies).   |
| <b>Challenges during COVID-19</b>       | Lack of information about migrant workers and vulnerable populations, particularly among the informal sectors.<br><br>Very limited financial inclusion.<br><br>State responses were reactive rather than pre-emptive, mostly late. | Precarious economic situation before the pandemic.<br><br>State responses were embedded in a logic of “securing the borders” against illegal migrants (portrayed as potential criminals).<br><br>Support during lockdown delegated to the United Nations system in Peru. |

Note. Elaborated by the authors.

Discussing COVID-19 further, Freier and Vera (2021) examined the pandemic's impact on migrant integration policies in Peru and Chile. Their findings highlight how Venezuelan migrants, particularly those without identification documents, were excluded from support measures such as economic transfers. This exclusion exacerbated existing economic disparities, as these individuals faced lowered wages and increased workloads for less pay (Freier & Vera, 2021). Relatedly, job opportunities for these

migrants also diminished during the pandemic. This decline can be linked, not directly to their lack of access to economic transfers, but to broader systemic and policy factors. The authors argue that narratives of “national security” invoked by the National Congress, which painted migrants as potential criminals requiring surveillance, played a crucial role in undermining migrant integration. These narratives likely influenced employers’ willingness to hire migrants, contributing to their reduced job opportunities (Freier & Vera, 2021, pp. 7–8).

The next studies focus on internal migration within Peru. The COVID-19 confinement led to the return of thousands of internal migrants to their rural hometowns (Fort et al., 2021). To identify the returnees’ profiles and the conditions they encountered, Fort et al. (2021) conducted 3,033 surveys based on residential information from the 2017 census, identified hotspots, and 19 provinces of interest.

According to the study, the profile of the returnee was male (55%), young (30.4 years old on average) and with secondary education (73%); although an important proportion had tertiary education (35%) (Fort et al., 2021, p. 16). As many as 250,000 returnees intended to stay long-term, adding pressure to natural resources in rural areas across the country. A chief concern is soil erosion due to land over-exploitation, which risks reducing profitability from traditional agriculture. Such low agricultural productivity is unlikely to support returnees’ integration into their hometowns in the short term (Fort et al., 2021, p. 49).

Regional studies of the lockdown period in Quispicanchi, La Libertad, and Piura provide deeper insights into the pandemic’s differentiated effects. In Quispicanchi, internal migrants saw a considerable income reduction once they returned to their hometowns, despite the fact that their income was already low in the cities (approximately USD 450 per month) (Bassilio & Miranda, 2020, p. 66). In La Libertad, Mendoza (2020, p. 37) found that returnees were mainly young males with secondary education who had recently moved to urban areas—around five years or less earlier—making them particularly vulnerable to the quarantine measures early in the pandemic. In Alto Piura, Burneo and Trelles (2021, p. 69) found employment precariousness among returnees, of which they were unaware until the quarantine. The indicators of precarity, including informal agreements, verbal contracts, hiring for a few months, and labour instability, resulted in their vulnerability once the confinement began (Burneo & Trelles, 2021, p. 69).

These studies suggest that for internal migrants’ integration into Peru’s major cities, various structural barriers, particularly informality, played a key role, leading to the government’s weak relief response during the quarantine. As no information was available to identify which internal migrants needed support, the Peruvian state apparatus was unable to reach the most vulnerable groups, thus aggravating their situation.



In terms of governmental responses, during the pandemic from 2020-2022, the Peruvian government implemented adjustments to services, programs, and public policies designed to promote socioeconomic integration and employment of international migrants (ILO, 2022). For example, the Ministry of Work and Promotion of Employment (*Ministerio de Trabajo y Promoción del Empleo—MTPE*) adjusted the access requirements to pre-existing programs for employment promotion, such as “Impulsa Perú” (Peru Impulses) to allow international migrants as beneficiaries. Those adjustments worked as pilot programs which, in consortium with Lima’s provincial government, provided “workshops and training on employability ... [that were] directed to nationals, but also to migrant and refugee population[s]” (Vásquez et al., 2021).

In general, the MTPE strategy to promote socioeconomic integration receives technical assistance offered by United Nations agencies, such as ILO, IOM, and UNDP. It is focused on guaranteeing decent work through designing programs for employment, self-employment, and entrepreneurship (ILO, 2022, p. 5) like “Emprende Seguro” (Safe Entrepreneurship). Another strategy is to adjust and change the services already in place, expanding their applicability to immigrants. These services, such as skill certification for manual work and access to labour exchange, among others, have been supported by information campaigns for potential and current employers of immigrants, promoting their labour rights and their formal employment (UNDP & ILO, 2021).

We have outlined new trends in domestic and international migration within Peru, and COVID-19’s drastic effects on the country’s economy and the well-being its residents. Considering these realities, this study examines the pandemic’s impacts on the employment indicators of internal and international migrants in Peru between 2018 and 2021. To address the research questions, the study adopted a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods, as discussed in the next section.

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## Methodology

The study applied a mixed-methods approach in two manners. First, the study employs a combination of quantitative (statistical analysis of an official household survey) and qualitative methods (key-informant interviews with experts and state officials, in-depth interviews, and participant observations).

Second, this study employs a sequential QUANT-QUAL approach. The process begins with a quantitative phase where we collect and analyse numerical data. The outcomes from this initial phase then dictate the selection of specific regions or departments.

These chosen areas are then subject to a more detailed, qualitative examination in the subsequent phase.

Gerring's (2007) case selection techniques guided the qualitative fieldwork, targeting specific types of internal and international migrant workers for interviews. Detailed explanations of the research process, study design, and subsequent analysis are provided in the following section.

## Data and methods

The study used primary and secondary sources of data. The main source of secondary data was the cross-sectional sample of the National Household Survey (*Encuesta Nacional de Hogares* [ENAHO]) for the years 2018, 2019, 2020, and 2021 which monitors the indicators of living conditions. The survey is conducted at the national level, across urban and rural areas, in the 24 departments of Peru and in the Constitutional Province of Callao. According to the INEI (2021), "the study population is defined as the set of all the individual dwellings and their occupants residing in the urban and rural areas of the country". Among its various sections and chapters, the ENAHO offers a large section of the questionnaire dedicated to employment and income.

For primary sources, three data collection instruments were used: (a) key-informant interviews with experts and state officials, particularly with regional government officials (n=4); (b) in-depth interviews with internal and international migrants (n=15); and (c) participant observations (n=4). To select the types of migrant workers to interview and the departments where they should be contacted, we used the mixed methods technique of case selection, helping us to identify the regions with the highest concentration of migrants. Therefore, fieldwork was conducted in Lima, the capital city of Peru, and San Martin, located in the Amazon Basin. Participant observations were realised in locations where the interviewees performed their work activities, or where employers usually contact migrant workers for temporary jobs<sup>4</sup>, and in some instances, in their neighbourhoods and households where they invited us.

For the qualitative phase, the main data collection instrument was a semi-structured questionnaire, designed for use when interviewing internal and international migrant workers. This questionnaire served to deepen our knowledge of the migrants' strategies, decisions, difficulties, and personal and household experiences associated with

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4 In Peruvian cities, certain parks, markets, or crossroads are known as spots for people to offer or find short-term work, such as in agriculture, construction, or cleaning. Researchers used local insights to identify these places, anticipating possible migrant-focused events, like employment fairs.

pandemic-related changes to their occupations, formal and informal sector participation, work hours, and income (research question #1). The questionnaire was also designed to recognise, through personal narrations, the sources of inequality that intermediated in shaping the effects of the pandemic on the mentioned variables (research question #2).

The questionnaire also collected information on the future plans of the interviewees regarding their livelihoods and their circumstances they faced at their locations of immigration. These plans could offer a sense of what pandemic-related impacts on work/employment would possibly be temporary or more permanent (research question #3). Finally, the interviews also allowed us to identify the state provisions and programs that help (or do not help) migrants to overcome the pandemic's worst periods (research question #4).

Fifteen interviews were conducted (n=15) following two of Gerring's (2007) case selection techniques (see Appendix 1 for a detailed explanation of the statistical analysis and procedures followed for the selection): selection of the typical cases and selection of the diverse cases. Following both procedures for a sample of 13 persons (a sample size decided before the case selection), the designed sample was composed of one typical case and two diverse cases for international migrant workers, and two typical cases and eight diverse cases for internal migrant workers<sup>5</sup>. To those 13 cases, two more cases were added because it was possible to contact two more persons that had the same characteristics indicated by the sample design, completing a final sample of 15 (n=15).

The variables used to define the sample cases for internal and international migrant workers were sex, residence department, and occupational group<sup>6</sup>. According to preliminary analysis (see tables 1–4 on the following pages), three occupational groups had the most important proportions for migrant workers in Peru: group 9 of "Elementary Occupations"<sup>7</sup>, group 5 of "Service workers and shop and market

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5 Typical and diverse case numbers were decided according to the percentage distribution of each migrant worker type (internal or international) in the sample: 75% were internal migrants and 25% international migrants. Also, among internal migrant workers there were similar proportions of women and men (therefore, two typical cases were needed), while among international migrant workers, the typical case was female (one typical case).

6 Occupational groups classify jobs based on tasks and duties, as defined by the International Standard Classification of Occupations. Peru, like other countries, uses a national adaptation called the "National Classification of Occupations" (CNO). It's derived from the Revised International Standard Classification of Occupations: ISCO-08 by the ILO, ensuring compatibility with international statistics. See: <https://www.ilo.org/public/english/bureau/stat/isco/index.htm>

7 "Elementary occupations" (group #9 in the ISCO-08) involve simple, routine tasks that often require hand tools and physical effort. They typically need basic education and include roles like cleaners, farm workers, construction labourers, cooks, peddlers, garbage collectors, among others.

vendors", and group 6 "Farmers and skilled agricultural, forestry and fishing workers"<sup>8</sup>. Among international migrant workers, the most salient national group was, by far, the Venezuelans, therefore both the typical and diverse cases are filled by Venezuelan migrants. In terms of department of residence, our identification of areas with the highest migrant proportion determined that fieldwork (and interviews) would be conducted in the coastal department of Lima, where Peru's capital is located, and in the Amazonian department of San Martin (see Figure 2).

The typical international migrant worker case in Peru was a "woman, resident of Lima, part of occupational group 9 'Elementary Occupations'" (Case #1). In addition, two diverse international cases were considered. For internal migrant workers, there were two typical cases: "woman resident in Lima, part of occupational group 9 "Elementary Occupations" (Case #4), and "man resident in Lima, part of occupational group 9 "Elementary Occupations" (Case #5)". Eight more cases (diverse cases) were selected for the internal group.

The team searched for the 13 defined cases by following the case selection results, visiting locations where migrant workers spent time or worked, asking acquaintances, and searching for references in migrant organisations. A process limitation was that researchers had to select interviewees with a specific profile. Therefore, the search took more time and effort than if the profile were less defined.

Seeking people with a specific profile also involved interviewing acquaintances of the researchers, or of friends in some cases. The relative proximity of the researchers to these persons—even when the sample selection was respected—reduced the chance of meeting a case beyond the social group, and could have prevented informants from answering more openly to some of the interview questions. Potential bias in the contact process occurred mainly in Lima, where the researchers reside. In the case of San Martin, informants were met and contacted only on location.



**From 2021 onwards, the total population received less income for the same number of work hours.**

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8 The complete list of occupations classified in each occupational group can be found here: <https://www.ilo.org/public/english/bureau/stat/isco/docs/groupdefn08.pdf>

Figure 2. Origins and destinations of internal and international migrant workers interviewed as part of the sample, selected following a mixed methods approach



Note. Figure 2, above, shows in green the departments of Lima and San Martín, the destinations of the migrant workers where the fieldwork and interviews were conducted. The map also shows with black borderlines the places of origin of those migrants: Venezuela with regards to international migrant workers residing in Lima, and the departments Piura, Cajamarca, Loreto, Huánuco, and Cusco with regards to Peruvian internal migrant workers residing in Lima and San Martín. The blue borderline indicates the provinces of origin of internal migrants within the department of San Martín, Lamas, and Picota.

In addition to the in-depth interviews, four key-informant interviews were conducted with two experts and two regional government officials from the Cajamarca and San Martín departments. As with the in-depth interviews with migrant workers, a letter of invitation and an interview protocol were used. The instrument's objective was to

collect information on the public policies designed to alleviate the negative impacts of the pandemic, particularly for migrant workers, during and after the pandemic. The experts were selected based on their knowledge of the subject, particularly regarding international migrant workers. The regional government officials were selected because of the importance of the 2020 return migration episode in Cajamarca, while San Martin was planned as one of the case studies for this paper.

Using an observation protocol, including a short questionnaire to informally engage in conversation with people onsite, 4 participant observations were also conducted (July–September of 2022) (see Appendix 1). The overt observations occurred at (i) an employment fair (*feria laboral*) for the Venezuelan population residing in Lima, organised by the Municipality of Surquillo<sup>9</sup>, the Ministry of Labour and Promotion of Employment (*Ministerio de Trabajo y Promocion del Empleo—MTPE*), several NGOs, and some United Nations agencies; (ii) Chazuta, a rural town in San Martin, involving informal and brief interviews with agricultural workers, farmers, and members of the peasant patrols (*rondas campesinas*); (iii) the “human settlement” (*Asentamiento Humano* or *AA. HH.*)<sup>10</sup> of “El Edén” in the periphery of the city of Tarapoto, the capital city of San Martin; and the “human settlement” “AA.HH. 16 de Noviembre” also located at the periphery of Tarapoto city.

The observations’ participatory element varied according to location. For example, at the employment fair the researcher participated as an attendee, but when talking to the organisers or to the migrants, she presented herself as a sociologist and explained the study in the process. At the other locations, the researcher participated as a visitor, accompanying the interviewees in their activities, and in their mobility between places. For example, by walking through a neighbourhood with a lady selling fruits, while heading in the direction of her home within the same human settlement where the lady was going to be interviewed by the researcher.

The participant observations were conducted in places with frequent and prevalent presence of international or internal migrant workers, of the occupational groups of interest like: elementary workers, service workers and vendors, and agricultural workers. These observations provided additional insight into the circumstances lived by migrant workers when trying to find a job or performing their work activities. The employment fair results from a recent and recurrent type of public policy, implemented via an alliance

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9 Surquillo is a district of Lima province where a significant proportion of Venezuelan citizens reside.

10 A “Human Settlement” (*Asentamiento Humano* or *AA. HH.*, used as part of the name of this type of slum), is a recent and informal occupation of vacant land in a city’s surroundings, occupied by poor families without dwellings, many of whom are internal migrants.

between local governments, the Ministry of Labour and Promotion and Employment, and other state institutions to promote employment among Venezuelan migrants.

This data collection instrument had advantages and limitations. Even when researchers spent numerous hours at a location, they only observed part of the actions and interactions of the interest group. For instance, observations conducted in two human settlements, in areas where women typically sell food while walking in their neighbourhood, or by standing at the sides of a community volleyball court, or outside their homes, provided insight into a fraction of their workday. Unobserved were the prior tasks associated with selling food (like buying and preparing the food) or other secondary jobs. However, the interviews with them and their account of their complete workday resolved the limitations to some degree.



**The omission of data during the most vulnerable moments of the pandemic may underrepresent the significant estimators for labour indicators.**

## Data analysis

We conducted statistical analysis, both descriptive and inferential, using the National Household Survey (ENAH) for the years 2018, 2019, 2020, and 2021<sup>11</sup>. A simple linear regression was run following the event study approach presented by Higa et al. (2022). The ENAH data were pooled, resulting in a sample of 1,502 international migrants and 12,510 internal migrants, representing about 0.5% and 4% of the total<sup>12</sup> number of data pooled, respectively. To take advantage of the survey's sample design, and since the sample is small, the analysis is based on the internal validity of the data. The composition of the sample varies according to the year of registration (see Table 2).

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11 Although the survey has been published in annual and quarterly format since 2004, the question needed to identify foreign migrant status was only included in 2018.

12 The operational definitions for international and internal migrants were:

- International migrant: identified if the respondent's mother lived in another country when the respondent was born.
- Internal migrant (Peruvian and recent migration): identified by determining in which district they lived 5 years ago. Those who resided in districts located in provinces other than their province of origin were considered migrants. Additionally, this condition was restricted to Peruvians, not foreigners.

Table 2. Sample composition of international and internal migrants by year and sex

| Years | International migrants |       |        |       |      |       | Peruvian internal migrants (recent) |       |        |        |       |        |
|-------|------------------------|-------|--------|-------|------|-------|-------------------------------------|-------|--------|--------|-------|--------|
|       | Total                  |       | Female |       | Male |       | Total                               |       | Female |        | Male  |        |
|       | N                      | Freq. | N      | Freq. | N    | Freq. | N                                   | Freq. | N      | Freq.  | N     | Freq.  |
| 2018  | 275                    | 18.31 | 142    | 18.14 | 133  | 18.50 | 3,741                               | 29.9  | 1,885  | 240.74 | 1,856 | 258.14 |
| 2019  | 455                    | 30.29 | 238    | 30.40 | 217  | 30.18 | 3,344                               | 26.73 | 1,675  | 213.92 | 1,669 | 232.13 |
| 2020  | 301                    | 20.04 | 149    | 19.03 | 152  | 21.14 | 1,800                               | 14.39 | 930    | 118.77 | 870   | 121.00 |
| 2021  | 471                    | 31.36 | 254    | 32.44 | 217  | 30.18 | 3,625                               | 28.98 | 1,886  | 240.87 | 1,739 | 241.86 |

Note. Adapted from the National Household Survey by INEI (2018–2021).

The questionnaires corresponding to the months between March and August 2020 (under strict lockdown due to the pandemic) were short versions of the standard survey. Therefore, many questions were omitted. These included questions needed to identify migrant status. Given that the first months of the pandemic are crucial to understand people's working conditions, this data restriction represents an important limitation in the estimates. In the absence of data during the peak periods, the estimates presented here may under-represent the magnitude of the pandemic's impact.

A set of five labour outcome variables were constructed:

- *Employed status within the economically active population*, which takes the value of 1 if the respondent is employed, and 0 if unemployed.
- *Active status within the working-age population*, takes the value of 1 if the respondent is surveyed from the economically active population, and 0 in the case of the economically inactive population.
- *Total real monthly income* measures the total income of the respondent considering labour income in the primary and secondary occupations, as well as all types of transfers in Peruvian soles<sup>13</sup> of 2018.
- *Total monthly hours worked* measures the total hours worked in the main and secondary occupations.
- *Real hourly income per hour* indicates total real monthly income in 2018 soles divided by total monthly hours worked.

<sup>13</sup> Sol (soles is the Spanish plural) is the currency of Peru.



Given the relevance of the temporality of the pandemic's effects, that is, the interest in examining the impact of it during short periods of time (based on the changing nature of the situation), an event study approach is used (adaptation of Higa et al., 2022). For this purpose, the following specification is proposed:

$$y_i = \sum_{q=1}^5 \beta_q D_i^q + \gamma X_i + \epsilon_i \quad (1)$$

Where  $D_i^q$  takes the value of 1 if the observation is in the  $q$  period. These periods are divided into:

Base category, from January 2018 to March 2020.

First period (T1), from September 2020 to November 2020.

Second period (T2), from December 2020 to February 2021.

Third period (T3), from March 2021 to May 2021.

Fourth period (T4), from June 2021 to August 2021.

Fifth period (T5), from September 2021 to December 2021.

The period from April 2020 to August 2020, between the base category and the first period, is not considered in the analysis because the shorter version of the survey questionnaire applied during the pandemic's first months did not include the question about migration status. The vector of variables  $X_i$  contains control variables, including occupational category<sup>14</sup>, age, years of education, living in a rural area, having informal employment, and a set of fixed effects at the level of the department of residence. Equation (1) is extended to control for migration status:

$$y_i = \sum_{q=1}^5 \beta_q D_i^q + \gamma X_i + \delta M_i + \epsilon_i \quad (2)$$

Where  $M_i$  takes the internal and international migration. Finally, equation (2) is extended to contain an interaction between the period of interest and the migrant condition, equation (3):

$$y_i = \sum_{q=1}^5 \beta_q D_i^q + \sum_{q=1}^5 \rho_q (D_i^q \times M)_i + \gamma X_i + \delta M_i + \epsilon_i \quad (3)$$

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14 There are seven occupational categories: employer (base category), self-employed, employee, labourer, unpaid family worker, household worker, and others.

Regarding analysis of data provided by the interviews and the observations, the research employed open and axial coding processes (Strauss & Corbin, 2002). To connect the study's qualitative phase with its quantitative part, the pieces of data identified by open coding were labelled as: changes (due to the pandemic) in occupations, changes in participation in the formal and informal sectors, changes in the number of hours of work, changes in income, education background, previous experiences of labour migration (own experiences/relatives), household survival strategies, and experiences as beneficiaries of public policies implemented during the pandemic. We used axial coding to identify causal conditions and the consequences of the mentioned changes in terms of producing more inequality.

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## Findings

This section summarises the research findings in four parts.

1. The first subsection uses descriptive statistics to compare and describe the characteristics of internal and international migrant workers regarding activity and employment, occupational group, sex, and education level.
2. The second subsection focuses on the event study results, indicating the pandemic's effects for the total population, and for internal and international migrant workers. these dependent variables are discussed: employment status within the economically active population, active status within the working age population, total real monthly income, total monthly hours worked, and real hourly income.
3. The third subsection examines the factors intermediating changes in migrant workers' employment and work.
4. The final subsection focuses on analysing the policies designed and implemented during the COVID-19 pandemic, seeking to uncover their impact on the work and employment conditions of international and internal migrants.

## International and internal migrant workers in the Peruvian labour market

As described previously, internal migrants represent a much larger population than international migrants in Peru. in the pooled sample, 1,502 were international migrants

and 12,510 were internal migrants, representing about 0.5% and 4% of the total sample, respectively. Out of the total sample, 72% of migrants were economically active or part of the economically active population (EAP), including unemployed persons looking for a job. There was a higher participation of men in the EAP. This is true for both international and internal migrants. About 39% of the women surveyed were inactive, while about 16% of men were inactive (see table 3).

Table 3. International and internal migrants by employment/unemployment and activity condition, Peru 2018–2021

| Indicators | International migrants |       |        |       |      |       | Peruvian internal migrants (recent) |       |        |       |       |       |
|------------|------------------------|-------|--------|-------|------|-------|-------------------------------------|-------|--------|-------|-------|-------|
|            | Total                  |       | Female |       | Male |       | Total                               |       | Female |       | Male  |       |
|            | N                      | Freq. | N      | Freq. | N    | Freq. | N                                   | Freq. | N      | Freq. | N     | Freq. |
| Employed   | 1,000                  | 66.58 | 425    | 54.28 | 575  | 79.97 | 8,418                               | 67.35 | 3,529  | 55.38 | 4,889 | 79.79 |
| Unemployed | 80                     | 5.33  | 53     | 6.77  | 27   | 3.76  | 580                                 | 4.64  | 336    | 5.27  | 244   | 3.98  |
| Inactive   | 422                    | 28.1  | 305    | 38.95 | 117  | 16.27 | 3,501                               | 28.01 | 2,507  | 39.34 | 994   | 16.22 |

Note. Adapted from the National Household Survey by INEI (2018–2021).

According to the ENAHO 40% of surveyed international migrants resided in Metropolitan Lima (see Table 4), which includes the capital city of Lima and the Constitutional Province of Callao, the remaining 60% reside in other regions, especially in Tumbes and Tacna. These are primarily urban departments, with 94% and 90% urban populations, respectively, located at Peru's Northern and Southern international borders.

In general, international migrants are highly concentrated in large and intermediate cities. In particular, 82.5% Venezuelan migrants are settled in Lima (INEI, 2022). Internal migrants differ proportionately by region. About 14% reside in Lima, while the vast majority (86%) reside in other departments, especially in San Martín, Arequipa, Loreto, and Ucayali. There is more diversity in destinations within Peru among internal migrants. Besides large cities, they also migrate to intermediate cities, small towns, and rural locations (Vásquez, 2019). The Amazonian departments of San Martín, Ucayali, and Loreto are important destinations, especially for farmers from the Andes and other rural Amazonian areas, who seek land or jobs in the agricultural and extractive industries.

Table 4. International and internal migrants by place of residence, Peru 2018–2021

| Location            | International migrants |       |        |       |      |       | Peruvian internal migrants (recent) |       |        |       |      |       |
|---------------------|------------------------|-------|--------|-------|------|-------|-------------------------------------|-------|--------|-------|------|-------|
|                     | Total                  |       | Female |       | Male |       | Total                               |       | Female |       | Male |       |
|                     | N                      | Freq. | N      | Freq. | N    | Freq. | N                                   | Freq. | N      | Freq. | N    | Freq. |
| Lima-Callao         | 611                    | 40.67 | 315    | 40.23 | 296  | 41.17 | 1843                                | 14.73 | 981    | 15.39 | 862  | 14.05 |
| Rest of the country | 891                    | 59.32 | 468    | 59.77 | 423  | 58.83 | 10667                               | 85.26 | 5395   | 84.61 | 5272 | 85.95 |

Note. Adapted from the National Household Survey by INEI (2018–2021).

The differences in residential places of internal and international migrants are associated with occupations. The proportion of internal migrants working in agriculture is larger (9%) than that of international migrants (3%). However, over a third of all migrants, internal (35%) or international (37%), work in elementary occupations (see Table 5). The second most frequent occupational group for both migrant groups is "service workers and shop and market vendors": 23% for international, and 17% for internal migrant workers.

In the two most prevalent occupations for both migrant groups, there are larger proportions of women than men: 41% of internal migrant women work in elementary occupations, compared to 34% of men. In the case of international migrants working in elementary occupations: 37% of women, compared to 34% of men. The difference is more significant among internal migrants working as service workers and shop and market vendors: 27% of women and 10% of men.

For international migrants, the percentages are 27% of the women and 18% of the men. Other categories also reflect gender differences. In the occupational group of professionals and technicians, male international migrants (11%) almost double the percentage of female international migrants (6.5%). The gap is more attenuated in the case of internal migrants for the same category. Male migrants (both international and internal) show larger proportions than female migrants (international and internal) in occupational groups such as "machinery operators", and "farmers and skilled agricultural, forestry, and fishing workers".

In the occupational group "scientists and intellectuals", the gender difference applies in the opposite direction. female international (9%) and internal (8%) migrants constitute larger proportions than the male migrants (5% and 7% respectively). Female migrants (international and internal) also show larger proportions than their male counterparts in the "managers and administrative employees" occupational group.

Also, the percentage of international migrant men is twice (18%) as large as that of internal migrant men (10%) in the “service workers and shop and market vendors” group (see Table 5). These statistics reveal a common pattern for recent migrant workers in general, and particularly for recent migrants from Venezuela in Peru who, facing the difficulties of finding a dependent job in their areas of expertise shortly after their arrival, began work as helpers in markets and shops, such as in food and beverages, or in personal care such as hairdressing).

Table 5. International and internal migrants by occupational group, Peru 2018–2021

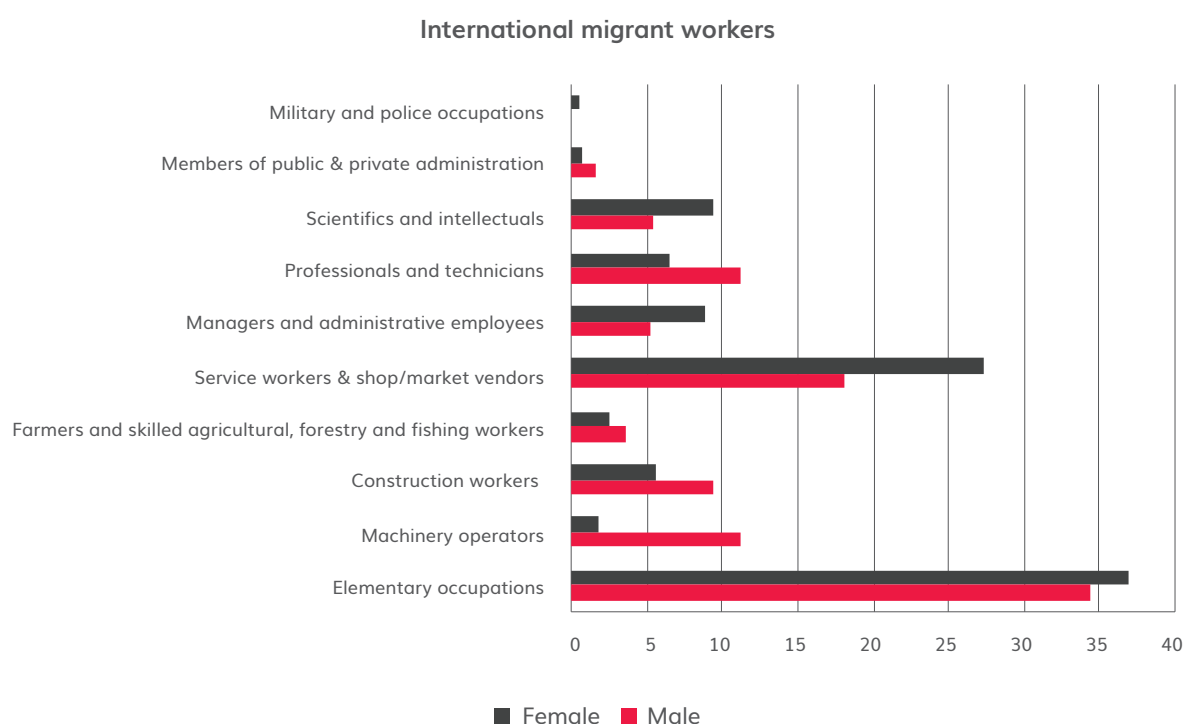
| Occupations type  | International migrants |       |        |       |      |       | Peruvian internal migrants (recent) |       |        |       |      |       |
|---|------------------------|-------|--------|-------|------|-------|-------------------------------------|-------|--------|-------|------|-------|
|   | Total                  |       | Female |       | Male |       | Total                               |       | Female |       | Male |       |
|   | N                      | Freq. | N      | Freq. | N    | Freq. | N                                   | Freq. | N      | Freq. | N    | Freq. |
| Elementary occupations  | 365                    | 35.47 | 164    | 36.94 | 201  | 34.36 | 3312                                | 37.33 | 1583   | 41.16 | 1729 | 34.39 |
| Service workers and shop and market vendors                     | 227                    | 22.06 | 121    | 27.25 | 106  | 18.12 | 1535                                | 17.3  | 1052   | 27.35 | 483  | 9.61  |
| Professionals and technicians                                   | 94                     | 9.14  | 29     | 6.53  | 65   | 11.11 | 613                                 | 6.91  | 209    | 5.43  | 404  | 8.04  |
| Elementary occupations  | 80                     | 7.77  | 25     | 5.63  | 55   | 9.40  | 551                                 | 6.21  | 157    | 4.08  | 394  | 7.84  |
| Service workers and shop and market vendors                     | 74                     | 7.19  | 42     | 9.46  | 32   | 5.47  | 681                                 | 7.67  | 310    | 8.06  | 371  | 7.38  |
| Professionals and technicians                                   | 73                     | 7.09  | 8      | 1.80  | 65   | 11.11 | 695                                 | 7.83  | 25     | 0.65  | 670  | 13.33 |
| Managers and administrative employees                           | 70                     | 6.8   | 39     | 8.78  | 31   | 5.30  | 496                                 | 5.59  | 259    | 6.73  | 237  | 4.71  |
| Farmers and skilled agricultural, forestry, and fishing workers | 32                     | 3.11  | 11     | 2.48  | 21   | 3.59  | 792                                 | 8.93  | 215    | 5.59  | 577  | 11.48 |
| Members of the public and private administration                | 12                     | 1.17  | 3      | 0.68  | 9    | 1.54  | 13                                  | 0.15  | 3      | 0.08  | 10   | 0.20  |
| Military and police occupations                                 | 2                      | 0.19  | 2      | 0.45  | 0    | 0.00  | 185                                 | 2.08  | 33     | 0.86  | 152  | 3.02  |

Note. Adapted from the National Household Survey by INEI (2018–2021).

The occupational distribution also reveals distinctions in terms of human capital. The percentage of international migrants working as professionals and technicians (6.5%) is greater than that of internal migrants in the same occupations (5%). In the group "managers and administrative employees", the number is slightly greater for international migrants (9%) than for internal migrant workers (7%).

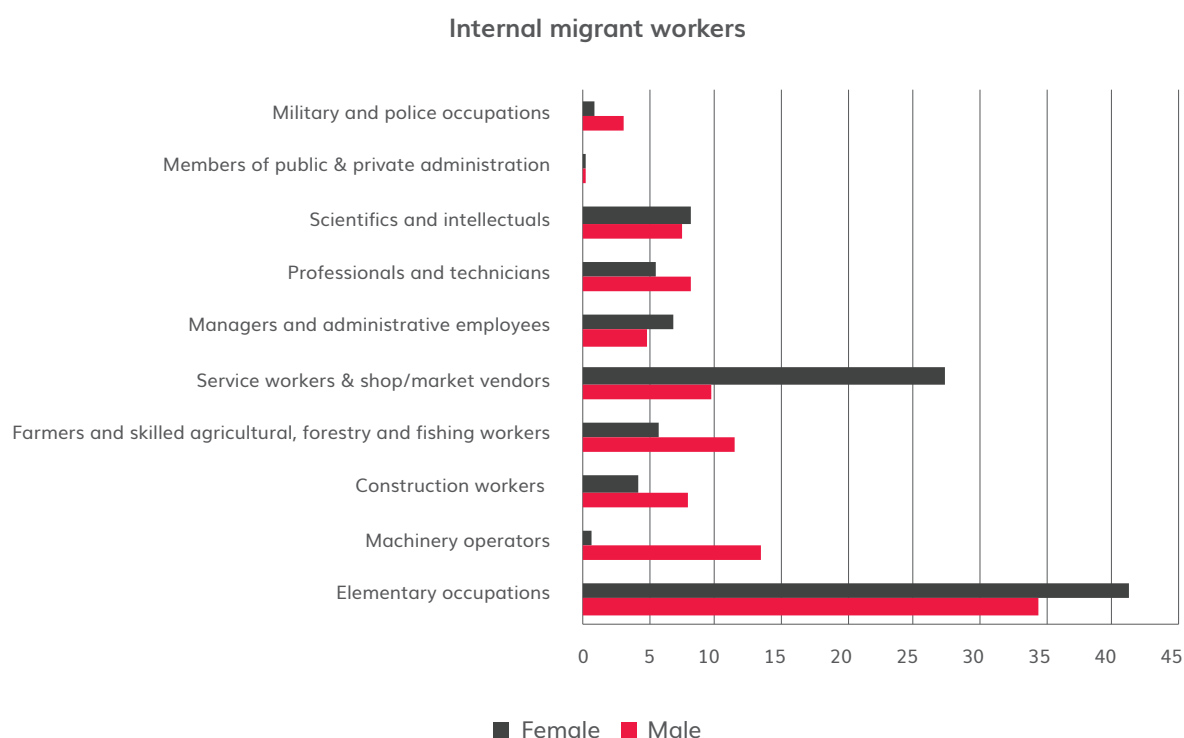
These moderate differences are not to be understated, considering that Venezuelan migrants represent the major national immigrant group in Peru, and face multiple challenges regarding their socioeconomic integration. These issues include relatively recent migration, low levels of formal recognition of university degrees, limited possession of documentation, and low access to formal jobs. In the sample, the average number of study years for international migrants was 12 years, and for internal migrants it was 10. Figures 3 and 4 are useful for noting the differences by occupational group and sex between the two migrant groups.

Figure 3. Percentage distribution of internal migrant workers by occupational group and sex



Note. Adapted from the National Household Survey by INEI (2018–2021).

Figure 4. Percentage distribution of international migrant workers by occupational group and sex



Note. Adapted from the National Household Survey by INEI (2018–2021).

## Impacts of COVID-19 on the work and employment of migrants in Peru

We compared the indicators for the total population, as presented in Appendix 3, Table A with the indicators for internal and international migrant workers. All indicators, except activity (employment) within the working-age population, show a worsening of labour conditions. For the total population, the probability of being occupied in the quarter of March to May of 2021 (T3) decreased by 0.15%, compared to the pre-pandemic period, until the quarter of June to August of 2021, mid-2021 (T4).

The total monthly income for the whole population fell by 11% at the beginning of the recovery period (September 2020–November 2020 [T1]), as compared to the pre-pandemic stage. This decrease fluctuated between -9.47% in T2, -8.05% in T3, -3.26% in T4, and -5.23% in T5 (see Figure 5). The monthly number of work hours also decreased for the total population by -2.65% for T1 before recovering moderately in T2 and T3 (decrease of -1.76% and -1.23%, respectively). The recovery continued to the pre-pandemic level and was visible around the second half of 2021 (T4).

These statistics indicate that in 2021 onwards, the total population received less income for the same number of work hours. The income per hour during T1 also decreased by -9.2% compared to pre-pandemic levels.

When controlled for migration status, the results show a positive correlation between being active within the working-age population and quarters T1, T2, T3, and T4 (coefficient for T5 is also positive but not statistically significant). These results indicate a better labour status regarding activity or employment within the migrant worker groups as compared to the rest of the population (see Appendix 3, Table B).

After considering the influence of migration status with the different analysis periods, there is no evidence of a particular worsening in the examined labour indicators (total income, hours of work, income per hour) for international or internal migrant workers. However, the omission of data during the most vulnerable moments of the pandemic may underrepresent the significant estimators found in Appendix 3, Table C (i.e., a drop in income during the second period).

For internal migrant workers, the total monthly income decreased by -7.45% during Sep 2020–Nov 2020 (T1), compared to the pre-pandemic stage. This decrease was -7.39% for T2 and -8.12% for T3, with a recovery of -3.26% for T4 and -5.56% for T5 (see Figure 5). The monthly number of work hours for internal migrant workers decreased -1.23%, in T1 (less than the decrease for the total population), and remained relatively at the same level until the last analysis period (September 2021 to December 2021, T5). During T1, income per hour for internal migrant workers decreased by -6.6% compared to pre-pandemic levels, before recovering moderately by the end of 2021. However, it remained at -5.01% less than the pre-pandemic period.

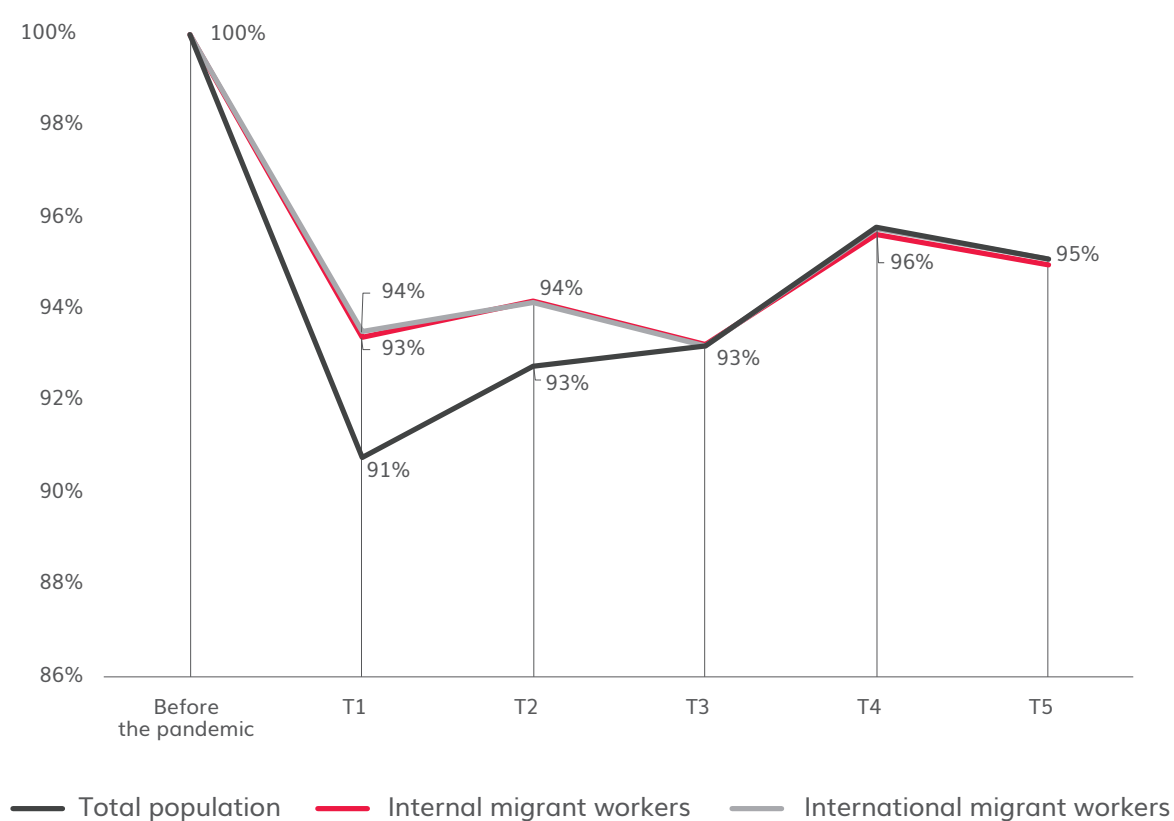
The situation was similar for international migrant workers. The total monthly income decreased by -7.35% during Sep 2020–Nov 2020 (T1), as compared to the pre-pandemic stage. This decrease was -7.38% for T2, -8.12% for T3, -3.44% for T4, and -5.36% for T5 (see Figure 5). The monthly number of work hours for international migrant workers decreased by -1.25% for T1, almost the same percentage as that of internal migrants and less than the decrease for the total population, which was -2.65%. It remained negative until the last analysis period, before recovering from -1.25% at T1 to 0.64% at T5.

Regarding hourly income, international migrant workers experienced a decrease of -6.46% compared to pre-pandemic levels during T1, before recovering very moderately. By the end of 2021, it remained at -4.88%, less than the period before the pandemic. This percentage indicates a slightly better situation than for the internal migrants, for whom the decline in income per hour for the quarter was -5.01%.



When only hourly income is examined (see Figure 5), the results show that during September to November of 2020, the hourly income among both migrant worker groups decreased less than that of the total population, and the differences persist during the next quarter (from December 2020 to February 2021). During the third, fourth, and fifth quarter (T3, T4, T5), the difference disappears and both groups converge to the same situation.

Figure 5. Changes to income per hour for the total population, internal migrant workers, and international migrant workers, September 2020–December 2021



Note. Adapted from the National Household Survey by INEI (2018–2021).

Findings from interviews with internal migrant workers in Lima and San Martín mirrored those from the statistical analysis, revealing that both types of migrants residing in cities worked more hours for less income due to the pandemic. Since they also had less support from family, social networks, and the state, they often had to find additional, more physically challenging or riskier jobs. Moreover, since migrant workers tend not to have savings or to be homeowners, during the third quarter of 2020, they had to work more hours for less pay to buy food or pay for rent. Due to being unregistered,

state support and alleviation measures such as monetary bonuses or “food baskets” (*canastas de alimentos*) often did not reach them. For international migrants, the Peruvian government did not directly include them as beneficiaries of their support programs. Instead, it requested UN agencies to support the immigrant population. (Vásquez et al., 2021, p. 10).

Two patterns were observed: migrants who worked the same number of hours as before the pandemic but earned less for the same job, and migrants who sought additional temporary jobs (from interviews with internal and international migrants).

Almost all informants (nine of 15) worked over the maximum of 48 weekly hours stipulated in the Peruvian labour legislation (Legislative Decree 854). Only three of the 15 worked 48 hours, with the other three working less than 48 hours. From the three that worked less than 48 hours, two were underemployed by number of hours<sup>15</sup>. Regarding the migrant workers who reported working over 48 hours, many worked for about 60 to 72 or even 92 weekly hours.

For instance, Ms. Sharon, a 26-year-old Venezuelan migrant and nurse who arrived in Peru in 2018, worked 56 hours per week as a domestic helper before and during the pandemic (10 hours daily from Monday to Friday, and 6 hours on Saturdays). Despite maintaining the same occupation and the same working hours<sup>16</sup>, her additional tasks and responsibilities during the pandemic did not represent more income. After losing her job as a nanny during the pandemic, she found a job as a domestic helper:

“I needed to have an income because I had to continue paying rent even though we were in a pandemic, it is still an expense. Or... if I stop paying rent, it accumulates”.

Her new job was a live-in position due to the quarantine, which included cooking, cleaning, and taking care of an elderly woman with Alzheimer's and her husband. Ms. Sharon still earns between 1,000 and 1,500 Peruvian soles per month (approximately USD 386). Since she did not spend money on rent, transportation, or food, she interpreted being able to save money as progress.

Similarly, Mr. Ronald, a 49-year-old Venezuelan man who worked as a barber in a beauty salon in Lima, lost his job when the salon closed, and remained unemployed for

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15 Two definitions of underemployment are used in Peru, by hours and by income: underemployment by hours occurs if a person works less than 35 hours a week, even when they want to work more hours.

16 Since she lives at her employer's home, it is possible that her time working/not working might be blurred. If she was mistaken, the number of working hours was probably higher than what she perceived.

4 months during the pandemic. When the salon was re-opened in July 2020, Mr. Ronald returned to work at the same salon, with the same working hours (72 hours per week), but his monthly income decreased:

"[Y]es. My income did change because before the pandemic I was paid... my salary was one salary plus a commission. And now there is no more salary but only commissions".

Tony, a 22-year-old internal migrant who arrived in Lima from a rural province of the Piura department, works 92 hours weekly between two jobs. Before the pandemic, he worked 4 hours in the mornings, 5 days a week, as an assistant at an elementary school warehouse, and was studying law at university. As he lost his job during the pandemic, Tony returned to his community of origin, the small rural town of Huancabamba in Piura. He was first unemployed and then could not work while taking care of his father and relatives at a hospital:

"I was many days in the hospital because my family had COVID. Almost a month and a half. On the forty-first day, I left, my dad was discharged and well, um, we came back".

During the pandemic, Tony returned to his school warehouse job in Lima but faced a drop in income from USD 180 to USD 154. To compensate, he added a night guard job at a residential building, earning an extra USD 386 for 72 hours over six nights each week. Despite increasing his income and work hours, Tony's financial situation remains precarious. (O'Rand, 1996).

Other interviewees wished to work more hours but found no jobs, or could not work at their usual activities as frequently as before the pandemic. For instance, internal migrant women residing in the poor neighbourhoods of AA. HH. El Eden and AA. HH. 16 de Noviembre, surrounding the city of Tarapoto in the San Martin department, by 2021 have resumed their work as food vendors, mostly by selling simpler or cheaper foods or doing it less frequently than before. This occurred because they lacked money to buy and prepare the food, there was an increase in food prices, or because they sold the equipment to cook and sell food in the street during the pandemic's worst period.



**Significant segment of international migrant workers holds greater academic/technical preparation but has fewer resources to face the pandemic due to the oversupply of migrant labour, and experiencing levels of social rejection.**

This was the case for Mrs. Belú and Mrs. Maribel. Both married, with older and small children, and underemployed. Mrs. Belú is a 37-year-old internal migrant from a rural locality close to Yurimaguas, a city in the Amazonian department of Loreto, who resides in AA. HH El Eden. Before the pandemic, she used to sell *aguaje*<sup>17</sup> by walking the street in the mornings. At nights, she prepared and sold grilled food outside her house using a small grill. At the end of 2021, she sold the grill to buy food for her children. She was not working because she was sick, and her husband was not getting enough work hours as a construction helper. At the time of the interview, she was working 6 hours every 1 or 2 weeks, when an aunt called her to help hand wash clothes at her house. Still, she narrated that the month prior she was working for about 10 hours daily, selling *aguaje* or a drink made of passionfruit:

"I used to sell down here, in the volleyball court ... Aha, that's where they start to play volleyball, that's where I sell the maracuja water. What they ask me I take out, sell. My husband was helping me carry the bucket down there".

For the day of work, she obtained 50 Peruvian soles (almost USD 13), so her income per hour was around USD 1.42:

"Sometimes during the morning, I would make my 20 soles. From noon until the afternoon, I made my 30 soles and from there, I had to take out to pay for electricity, pay for water, pay for a room to rent. I paid 150 for the little room and also used the money for food, all of that".

The participant observations evidenced that this pattern recurred in both informal settlements. Women, most of them mothers, would sell grilled food at their doors, or sell drinks, fruits, sweets, and sandwiches at the community's volleyball courts, known as *losas*<sup>18</sup>. If sales were insufficient, they would start walking around the neighbourhood with their bucket full of refreshments.

Almost all of the interviewees were laid off, in a temporary or permanent form. Some of them did not have a job for a period of 4 months; others found a job after 1 or 2 months. This outcome varied according to occupation types, alongside the migrants' individual characteristics. From our sample, those who had an elementary occupation

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17 *Aguaje* is a small Amazonian fruit. Street vendors in Tarapoto frequently sell this fruit while walking and carrying a plastic container full of them.

18 Spaces with cemented floors but covered by sand/dirt in many parts, where teenagers or young adults play sports.

started working during the pandemic as domestic helpers or caretakers of elderly persons, mostly taking live-in positions (Case #1, Sharon; Case #3, Ana; and Case #4, Carmen, Lucy). Persons working in some type of industry (Case #9, Miguel and Wiñer), including independent workers (Case #7, David), also started working after 1 month of unemployment. Younger migrants and those with no dependents could also rely on savings and work in temporary jobs (Case #2, Camilo, Ronald).

Describing the circumstances of unemployment caused by the pandemic is relevant because the impact was both direct and indirect. It was direct when the person became unemployed, and indirect when a family member lost their job. Ana, a Venezuelan migrant working as an elderly woman's caretaker before and during the pandemic, explained that her adult daughter, adult son, and partner became unemployed, so she had to support them by sending money:

"I think that was the most difficult stage of my life. That I worked and sent money. The money... if I tell you that I earned 1,500 soles, then [after supporting their children for some months] I only had left 50. Yes, well, I thank God that there were food supplies there [the house of elderly person]. I had a bed, a room, and I was in a sheltered and stable site. But in the economic part it was strong".

When unemployment was direct, some international migrants (Case #3, Ronald) used their savings, which implied lifestyle and planning changes:

"I had some savings. And with that I was able to survive, well, those 4 months. But if the pandemic had not existed, I think I would be in my country right now. The savings that I had plus those 2 years that I was going to work, I was going to have more savings. So, well, I ate the savings. And then the confinement, that's when my lifestyle did change. I had many plans for the future, I sent money to Venezuela and now I send little and that's already different".

If unemployment was present for over a month, it resulted in food insecurity for the family, and for the children. One internal female migrant contacted in an informal settlement in San Martin remembered:

"There was no money in those days because my husband couldn't work. He also got sick, so we had to support both each other. He would see me when I was sick, I would see him when he was sick. My children here, sometimes they asked me for food, sometimes there was not any, sometimes we cooked to eat only once during the day. Yes, other times there was only rice, we cooked a full pot and that was for the three meals and that's how we spent our day".

Our interviewees reported few significant occupational changes post-pandemic (see Appendix 2). After the most critical lockdown months, many reverted to their usual work or survival strategies, often in the same occupational categories and sectors as before<sup>19</sup>. However, their income trajectories tell a more nuanced story.

Mr. Mariano, a 68-year-old migrant labourer from Cajamarca, offered insights into the effects of the pandemic on different occupations. His day labour wage remained constant at 30 soles, but declining sales in his side jobs as a shoe repairman and candy vendor significantly impacted his income.

In the past, Mariano's shoe repair services were in demand, especially from school students. With schools' closure due to the pandemic, his services were less needed. "This is the first year that students have returned to physical school," Mariano explained, highlighting the changes brought on by remote learning.

Regarding his agricultural work, Mariano confirmed the wage rate's consistency. When asked, "In other words, it hasn't increased, nor has it decreased?" He responded, "Correct. The wage is still set at 30 soles." Despite the nominal wage stability, the broader economic shifts and lower consumption levels amongst poorer households spotlight the pandemic's impacts.

## **Factors intermediating changes in work and employment of migrant workers during COVID-19**

### *Territorial inequality*

The accounts of internal migrant workers interviewed in Lima and San Martin revealed the structural vulnerability of work and employment in Peru. This vulnerability preceded the COVID-19 pandemic and is associated with informality and underemployment, mostly defined by work hours<sup>20</sup>. Both employment informality and underemployment are associated with low labour absorption. Particularly for San Martin, Amazonian departments, and regions far from Peru's central and coastal departments, low labour

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19 Categories for that variable are employer, employee, labourer, independent worker, domestic worker, or unpaid family worker.

20 Underemployment in Peru, defined as workers whose occupation doesn't meet certain standards, falls into two categories: by hours and by income. The former is visible, involving people working less than 35 hours a week but willing to work more. The latter is invisible, where a person works 35 hours or more weekly, yet earns less than the minimum reference income.

absorption could be associated with the underdevelopment of regional labour markets. It could also be associated with that the low rate of adequate employment (INEI, 2020, pp. 72)<sup>21</sup>.

Thus, territorial inequality, the contrasting economic conditions within regions, and the state's uneven expansion throughout its territory play significant roles in creating underdeveloped regional and local labour markets (promoting migration), low labour absorption, employment informality, and underemployment. This study identifies these elements in different ways and dimensions. For example, many migrant workers interviewed in Lima (both internal and international) had some experience with a formal work contract during their work trajectory. In San Martín, only one migrant had once a formal contract.

In San Martín, Ms. Maribel (38) a recent rural-urban migrant from the rural town of Yurimaguas in Loreto, another Amazonian department, and currently living in the periphery of the city of Tarapoto, narrated that she, her husband, and her relatives had no previous experience with formal employment. This also created an important access gap to health insurance, since until quite recently in Peru (2002), health insurance was available only to the formally employed<sup>22</sup>.

*Have you ever had an employment contract (formal job)?*

No.

*Any, a job with a contract?*

No, no, no.

*OK, never. And have you ever had health insurance? Some kind of insurance?*

Sure, from SIS [Seguro Integral de Salud], no more.

*Since when do you have SIS?*

We have always had the SIS.

*But, well, the SIS was only installed in 2002*

Uh huh, there it is. Yeah, from there.

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21 The rates of adequate employment for San Martín are below the national rate (63%). The same as in other departments, the rate is even lower for women (31%), than for men (51%).

22 The Integral Health Insurance, SIS [*Seguro Integral de Salud*] was created in 2002 to guarantee universal access to health services regardless of formal employment. In the beginning, SIS only insured children 0–4 and 5–17, and pregnant women.

## Gender inequality

The interviews evidenced that gender inequality mediates personal and household experiences, decisions, and strategies related to work and employment, including those impacted by the pandemic.

In the Peruvian labour market, there is a salient degree of labour segmentation by sex. This applies for both internal and international migrant workers. Occupations for men tend to be less varied than those for women. To a certain extent, at least in San Martín, this trend is partly explained by cultural orientations. For example, the female interviewees in San Martín often worked in diverse activities, like selling and preparing food, cleaning, hand washing clothes, and working at restaurants as cooks or helpers.

Men, however, even when in need of work, only searched for certain occupation types, such as construction work (carrying bricks, preparing cement, etc.), or moto taxi driving. Such limitations could neutralise or elongate the recovery time after the crisis.

On the other hand, the pandemic is affecting female migrant workers more robustly, particularly mothers of small children, due to serious food insecurity. In this unpredictable situation, women were forced to take desperate decisions, especially internal migrants<sup>23</sup>. The interviews revealed that female migrants were more directly responsible for ensuring food provision for their children. The two female interviewees said this pushed them to find strategies to obtain income. For example, they bought cheap goods to sell on the streets, prepared food to sell, or offered to work as domestic helpers. To ensure their children had food, they also ate less or did not eat.

As mentioned previously, one of the interviewees (Mrs. Belú) sold the grill she used to prepare and sell food outside her house to obtain money for food. The buyer paid 50 soles, a very low amount, showing the level of desperation involved, because it was also one of their main pieces of equipment. Mrs. Maribel repeatedly stated that the reason she is walking more, to different areas, or spending more time in public locations selling fruits and refreshments, is because she needs to give her children meals (*plato de comida*). She directly refers to the effect of the pandemic on food insecurity for children:

"I wouldn't want that to happen again. Sad. More than anything for my children. Children sometimes ask you, 'I want to eat', without knowing if you have it or not".

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23 Currently in Peru, female internal migrants have a higher probability of having small children (and many of them) than female international migrants, although this is changing rapidly.



## Ageing populations and migrant workers

The Peruvian population is ageing, mostly in intermediate and large cities. Personal service jobs such as caretakers of the elderly and children are in high demand, more so than in previous years. These occupations are commonly filled by international and internal female migrants. The demand created by this macro structural process can deepen inequalities in occupations, i.e., between migrant workers and the rest of the population, and between female and male migrant workers. More female migrant workers will be needed to resolve this demand. Salaries and work conditions could also change as a result: increased salaries and more demand for live-in caretakers.

Regarding the increase in the salaries for caretakers of the elderly, Ana, a 49-year-old Venezuelan migrant (Case #3), explains what her future plans regarding work are:

"... I think that taking care of grandmothers, uh, there's more money coming in, and more savings. And since I have a projection, if I came to this country it's to get ahead, to build my house in two levels and have my resources there with my house".

However, personal service jobs also involve social and affective ties, and can constitute a greater weighting of work hours and labour involvement. This is what Sharon, a Venezuelan migrant, 26 years old, explained:

"In Miraflores, I no longer wanted to work "cama adentro" [sleeping at the household where work is performed] because there is no specific schedule, and my former bosses, they did not treat me badly or anything, They treated me spectacularly, but it was very tiring. Because I get up at 5:40 in the morning and I went to bed at 11:40, 12 at night, and the children became so fond of me that sometimes the two children slept with me".

Female migrants are fulfilling the demand for personal service jobs, while the social networks of migrants (specifically, female migrants) provide links and contacts to satisfy the labour force's supply and demand:

"So, I had a friend here that I had in Venezuela, and I got in touch with her because she worked as a nanny and she recommended me to a lady, and this lady found me a contact in Miraflores".

Ageing populations are shaping new inequities within occupational structures. In addition, the ageing workforce may produce other inequities between younger and older migrant workers. Ana (49) noticed that she lost two years of her work plans since the pandemic started:

"Yes, they have changed a lot. They've changed. You have to be aware of reality. Whenever you go to an office or something, they always look for young people, well. Because for companies, older people already bring, well-being and emotional health problems, both physical and mental. So, companies always hire young people. I studied, I worked in the human resources department in Venezuela and more than anything, they focus on a fresh brain".

## **Policies designed/implemented during the COVID-19 and their impact on the work and employment of migrants**

Regarding research question #4, we also asked migrants about the state provisions and programs that helped them (or not) to overcome the pandemic's worst periods. In addition, our interviews with experts and state officials contributed to our understanding of these policies' characteristics, and how they reached or did not reach migrant workers.

### *Cash transfers (emergency bonuses)*

During the pandemic, international migrants, including irregular ones, did not benefit from monetary bonuses offered in Peru. Support for this group was delegated to international organisations and UN agencies, demonstrated through our interviews with Venezuelan migrants. This was evidenced by the Venezuelan migrants we interviewed. One of them told us that one of the pandemic-related measures that applied to him happened "after the pandemic" and "it was the release of part of their pension funds", a general measure pushed forward by the Peruvian Congress (Case #3, Camilo).

Regarding internal migrants interviewed, not all received state-offered emergency cash transfers. Those who did mostly received it in 2021, after the pandemic's most severe months. In the early pandemic period, many of these independent and informal workers had to take any available jobs, accept lower income, or return to their hometowns.

The Ministry of Labor's Decree of Urgency No. 033-2020 enabled a one-off monetary subsidy of S/ 380.00 for vulnerable and independent workers. To identify these beneficiaries, the Ministry used the General Register of Households (PGH) from the Ministry of Development and Social Inclusion (MIDIS). The PGH was based on records of non-poor citizens, aged 18 and over, who held a National Document of Identity (DNI). From this pool, they excluded individuals on payroll, those in the Banking and Insurance Superintendency (SBS) or the National Superintendency of Customs and Tax Administration (SUNAT), and those earning over PEN 1,200 per month.

Subsequent versions of these bonuses employed different strategies to build the national register of beneficiaries. However, a salient finding is that these processes failed to identify internal migrants for emergency bonuses, leaving them underserved.

## *Work and employment public policies for migrant workers*

Due to the pandemic, many internal migrants travelled back—and by foot—to their rural or urban locations of origin (Boyd, Vásquez & Yancari, 2021). They did not have economic resources to remain in Lima and other Peruvian cities. One of the first emergency policies enacted, during the early days of the official announcement of the health crisis, was immobility within and outside of Peruvian territories. Given that all the highways and roads were closed and supervised by the police, internal migrants started returning by foot<sup>24</sup>.

Interviews with regional government officials from the San Martín and Cajamarca departments illustrated the limited focus of regional-level policies on the migrant worker population, particularly for internal migrant workers. The officials, in charge of complex transportation and healthcare processes for large numbers of returnee migrants during the pandemic, explained that there was no specific policy or program for internal migrants beyond health and emergency care. At the time of the interviews, in August 2022, regional governments did not have an official report on the number of returnees to the regions. They also lacked information on their integration into local and regional labour markets. Officials also explained that limitations on current spending prevented other types of support:

“[There was] support only for those who decided to forcefully return to their places of origin (‘the walkers’). They were taken to the respective quarantine and we had total and committed attention to them. There were no complaints, nothing. In this framework, at the health level, we have complied, but there were not any programs, some emergency bonuses like the central government distributed [for this population]. We did not have that power, because there are also regulatory frameworks that prevent you from using the resources for that type of issue. (Official at the Regional Government of Cajamarca)”

On the other hand, there is a clear focus on designing and applying programs promoting work and employment integration among international migrant workers.

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24 Thus, why the media named the returning migrant workers “walkers” (*caminantes*).

A number of pilot programs have been implemented by the Ministry of Labour and Promotion of Employment, with the technical and funding assistance of OIM, ILO, UNHCR, and international cooperation. In their efforts to promote socioeconomic integration, other agencies such as UNDP and the World Bank assist ministries and local governments to articulate a national strategy for socioeconomic integration. Several NGOs have coordinated as part of an alliance with those purposes.

Employment fairs for the Venezuelan population were a common means to coordinate the activities of these numerous institutions. We engaged in participant observation at this type of fair in the Municipality of Surquillo in Lima (August, 2022). We observed important developments in the articulation of programs and assistance provided to the population of interest. One of the most important purposes presented in the fair (for example, in a program called *Valiosos* or "Valuable") was to guarantee the recognition of migrants' education credentials and promote labour integration according to those credentials.

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## Conclusions and implications

Migrants often find themselves in vulnerable positions due to engagement in low-wage, risky jobs, like elementary occupations. In addition, patterns of occupational segregation by gender are often seen, implying that some jobs are typically performed by individuals of a particular sex or gender. For example, roles like service workers and shop and market vendors are predominantly filled by women. Specifically, 27% of female international migrants and an equal proportion of female internal migrants hold these jobs. In contrast, a smaller percentage of male international migrants (18%) and male internal migrants (10%) are found in these occupations.

Similar trends for internal and international migrant workers are observed in total income, work hours, and hourly income. After the decrease and recovery of magnitudes in total income, working hours, and income per hour, migrant workers more or less attained the same conditions as the pre-pandemic stage. But these conditions were already hard, did not guarantee decent work, and reflected inequality. There was inequality before the pandemic and there is inequality after. This is visible when comparing internal and international migrant workers to the total population, and when comparing the two types of migrant workers. The much larger population of internal migrant workers allows for more variability. But one of that population's large segments is characterised by low levels of human capital and, at the same time, by having resources to face the pandemic crisis (e.g., support networks, and households beyond their migratory destinations). On the other

hand, a significant segment of international migrant workers holds greater academic/technical preparation while still possessing fewer resources to face the pandemic due to the oversupply of migrant labour and experiencing levels of social rejection. In general, the total population and subpopulation of migrant workers received less income for the same hours of work, particularly during quarters T1, T2, and T3.

According to the qualitative research carried out, the severity of these difficulties structured new inequalities. Migrant households with small children faced periods of hunger. This directly impacted the health of children growing up with less resources. Narrations about food insecurity and hunger were still present at the time of interviews (2022). Internal migrant workers, especially women facing the absence of work, and reduced working hours and hourly pay, sold their work equipment. or in the case of international migrant workers, spent their savings. Also, the usual migrant worker strategy of accepting more working hours for lower pay affected the time parents could offer to raising their children. These forced strategies represented new challenges to already vulnerable households. Other new inequality sources—between male and female international migrants, and between female national and international migrants—may occur in the coming years, as Peru gradually experiences population ageing.

The study did not reveal major changes in the migrant workers' work and employment situation (at least, as indicated by this study's methodology). However, intragroup mobility was important because the pandemic affected individual work and employment experiences, mostly within occupational groups, the informal sector, and economic activities. As one example: someone who worked within an elementary occupation as a nanny, lost their job during the pandemic, but returned to work in a live-in position as the caretaker of an elderly person. Also, the interviewees who worked as part of the informal sector continued to do so.

Labour mobility and migration continue to be a strategy to confront territorial inequality. Territorial inequality creates labour inequality in terms of job opportunities and salaries at three scales: the largest administrative divisions (departments), medium administrative divisions (provinces), and minor administrative divisions (districts).

This study's findings deepen the understanding of specific country profiles within the Global South, which in turn makes it possible to discern differentiated paths for achieving SGD 8 and SGD 10 in the world.

Regarding SDG 8, the study recognises that in countries like Peru—characterised by uneven socioeconomic development, the state's historical neglect of rural areas, and the formation of very differentiated regional labour markets within the country—the path

to “promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all” should consider the prevalence of labour insertion of internal and international migrant workers in the group of elementary occupations, and their recurrent concentration in urban centres and the informal sector.

Regarding SDG 10, the study identifies that before and after the pandemic, there was/is significant differentiation between the work conditions of different populations. Particularly, between the total population compared to internal and international migrant workers; between male and female migrant workers; and between internal migrants, who for the most part have peasant and indigenous backgrounds and relocate to the peripheries of cities of different sizes (large but also small towns), and international migrant workers, who for the most part arrive in vulnerable conditions, have greater academic/technical preparation, and reside in large cities. The path to “reduce inequality within and among countries” should consider these inequalities.

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## Policy recommendations

1. While international migration is a recent phenomenon in the country, Peru has a long history of internal mobility, reflected in many studies and official data collected by the country's statistical office, INEI. Still, there is no agenda-setting related to the nexus between migration and mobility on the one hand, and work and employment on the other. Regional governments and municipalities lack any policies or strategies to address this issue, evidenced by the absence of consistent application of housing expansion regulations in the main cities, as we witnessed during fieldwork in San Martín. National offices dealing with policies related to migration and mobility (such as education, labour, and social protection) are still minor in scope. Minor initiatives exist in some areas—such as programs supporting the mobility of children whose schools are far from their homes—that need to be scaled up as well.

It is imperative for the Peruvian state to work on an agenda to address internal migration and mobility at all levels of government (national, regional, and district-level). Two priorities could be reflected in this agenda:

- Anticipating action plans for new cases of involuntary mobility (such as food crises and climate change), induced migration, or natural disasters (such as mega-earthquakes). The authority for natural disaster prevention, INDECI, could start a decentralisation process that provides accurate context for

policy-making elaboration at the local level, where most institutional weaknesses are. Among international organisations, the World Food Programme in Peru has expertise in combatting the current food crisis by articulating different programmes that benefit specific population groups (primarily, children and women).

- Preparing rural territories in case of sudden population increase. action plans should be mandatory for district-level authorities prone to migrations (for instance, the corridor around the "Central Highway" that connects Lima with major provinces in central Peru). These territories should include provisions on temporary housing and use of agricultural land, as a minimum under such circumstances. The Ministry of Economy could integrate this obligation into the current stimulus programme offered to local governments to improve their governance mechanisms, a results-based budgeting programme that supports local governments called "Programa de Incentivos a la Gestión Municipal" ("Incentives program for municipal management").
2. As Venezuelan migrants in Peru have had a significant, continuous presence for six years, the country would benefit by transitioning from a reactive perspective of migrations (centred around the "securitisation of migration", the need to control migration for the benefit of citizens) to new policies focused on integrating the new workforce through employment, long-term regularisation in the country, and support for migrant housing projects (as most are tenants). Important advances in the last few years included increasing the use of foreign identity cards, and new "regulatonnes", large-scale campaigns to initiate or update procedures for migrants' formalisation in the country.<sup>25</sup>

The scope of Peru's migration office (Superintendencia Nacional de Migraciones) could be expanded, established by law, to include planification for migrants' integration into the country—a major change that needs to pass through Congress. This could be actioned via Peru's prospective planning office called CEPLAN, through a multisectoral committee including key ministries such as Economy, Housing, Labor, and Health.

3. Registration and localisation of migrants, particularly internal migrants, is also a salient recommendation for Peru. As evidenced by interviews in San Martín, support during the pandemic was severely limited due to the lack of information about citizens' real locations. While Peruvian authorities base location on the

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<sup>25</sup> [https://twitter.com/OIM\\_Peru/status/1577077264558477313?s=20&t=i\\_3SZaAnA90YnARZsY4NsQ](https://twitter.com/OIM_Peru/status/1577077264558477313?s=20&t=i_3SZaAnA90YnARZsY4NsQ)

declared address on the national identity card, this information has proven to be obsolete in many cases. Information from the national register of social program beneficiaries (called SISFOH) also has limitations, namely, the municipalities' lack of control over this database.

It would be highly beneficial for the Peruvian national registry, RENIEC, to continue implementing "electronic IDs" that would allow citizens to update their information immediately in case of emergencies.

4. Gender plays a significant role in migrant employment, as evidenced by the female international migrants working in Lima as nurses for children and the elderly. While formalisation attempts are currently in place (for instance, the government is providing tax benefits to those who register nurses under social security), this sector relies massively on informal work, mostly by migrant women, both internal and international. New inequality sources—between male and female international migrants, and between female national and international migrants—may occur in the coming years, as Peru gradually experiences population ageing. And the demand for professional nurses may gradually increase the presence of female international migrants in the profession.

It is recommended that the government steps up its program to formalise these job roles, with more benefits available to employers. At the same time, the national supervision office for work conditions, SUNAFIL, could implement a gender-approach plan to address this issue, recognising the significant burden that female workers face in conditions that cannot be easily monitored by the authorities.

5. Achieving SDG 8 and SDG 10 depends upon persevering and increasing state attention to rural areas and the peripheral expanses of urban centres of different sizes (small, medium, and large cities). This effort should implicate not only promoting private investment but mostly public investment. Achieving these SDGs also depends on the clear recognition that the reception experience of the South-to-South immigrant population, coming from Venezuela, Colombia, Bolivia, and Ecuador, merits different templates for social and labour policies than those designed for countries receiving South-to-North immigration.



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## Appendices

### Appendix 1. Participant observations

| Participants observations / Ubication |  | Type of migrant workers usually present at location | Occupational group prevalent at location   |
|---------------------------------------|--|---|--|
| i                                     | Employment fair for Venezuelan migrants (Feria laboral) / District of Surquillo, Department of Lima. | International                                       | #9 Elementary Occupations<br>#5 Service workers and vendors in shops and markets               |
| ii                                    | Chazuta town, several locations. / District of Chazuta, Department of San Martin.                    | Internal  | #9 Elementary Occupations<br>#6 Farmers and skilled agricultural, forestry and fishing workers |
| iii                                   | "AA.HH. El Edén" (urban periphery community). / City of Tarapoto. Department of San Martin           | Internal  | #9 Elementary Occupations<br>#5 Service workers and vendors in shops and markets               |
| iv                                    | "AA.HH. 16 de Noviembre"(urban periphery community). / City of Tarapoto. Department of San Martin    | Internal  | #9 Elementary Occupations<br>#5 Service workers and vendors in shops and markets               |

Note. Elaborated by the authors.

### Appendix 2. Changes in the work situation of interviewed migrant workers

| Case type | Type of migrant | Sex | Age | Work situation before the pandemic | Work situation during the pandemic        | Work situation after the pandemic |
|-----------|-----------------|-----|-----|------------------------------------|---|-----------------------------------|
| Case #1   | International   | F   | 26  | Domestic worker (informal)         | Domestic worker (informal)                | Domestic worker (informal)        |
| Case #2   | International   | M   | 23  | Barista in a restaurant (informal) | Unemployed / tire factory worker (formal) | Barista in a pastry shop (formal) |

|          |               |   |    |   |   |   |
|----------|---------------|---|----|---|---|---|
| Case #2  | International | M | 49 | Hairdresser (informal)  | Hairdresser (informal)  | Hairdresser (informal)  |
| Case #3  | International | F | 49 | Elder care-taker (informal)   | Elder care-taker (informal)                                       | Saleswomen in clothing store (formal)   |
| Case #4  | Internal      | F | 60 | Domestic worker (informal)  | Domestic worker (informal)  | Domestic worker (informal)  |
| Case #4  | Internal      | F | 45 | Domestic worker (informal)  | Domestic worker (informal)  | Domestic worker (informal)  |
| Case #6  | Internal      | F | 26 | Domestic worker (informal)  | Unemployed  | Chicken seller (in own market stall) (informal/formal)                                  |
| Case #7  | Internal      | M | 22 | School warehouse assistant and Law student  | Unemployed/ taking care of relatives/worker on water and sewerage | Security guard at building (night)/School warehouse assistant and Law student           |
| Case #7  | Internal      | M | 34 | Clothing manufacturer (small workshop)  | Clothing manufacturer (small workshop)                            | Clothing manufacturer (small workshop)  |
| Case #8  | Internal      | F | 37 | Food vendor prepared by her at the door of her home (informal)                          | Unemployed  | Washed clothes by hand (each 2 o 3 weeks in the household of a relative) (informal)     |
| Case #9  | Internal      | M | 72 | Employee in fishing farm project  | Employee in fishing farm project                                  | Employee in fishing farm project  |
| Case #9  | Internal      | M | 23 | Hardware store helper/seller (informal)   | Hardware store helper/seller (informal)                           | Employee in fishing farm project (informal)   |
| Case #10 | Internal      | F | 38 | Street seller of lollipops at a hospital (AM) and 'aguaje' (fruit) seller at parks (PM) | Unemployed  | Street seller of lollipops at a hospital (AM) and 'aguaje' (fruit) seller at parks (PM) |
| Case #11 | Internal      | M | 44 | Owner of accommodation and restaurant in Lamas (formal)                                 | Unemployed / Mototaxi driver (informal)                           | Mototaxi driver (informal)  |
| Case #13 | Internal      | M | 68 | Owner of accommodation and restaurant in Lamas (formal)                                 | Unemployed, day laborer on neighbours' farm (informal)            | Day labourer in neighbouring far, shoefixer, street seller (informal)                   |

Note. Elaborated by the authors.

### Appendix 3. Case selection by mixed methods

According to Gerring (2007), prior quantitative analysis can provide greater robustness to the assignment of an individual in a qualitative sample. In case study analysis, or “small-N” research, these case selection techniques serve to “identify cases that reproduce the relevant causal features of a larger universe (representativeness) and provide variation along the dimensions of theoretical interest (causal leverage)” (Gerring, 2007, p. 88)<sup>26</sup>.

Gerring (2007) proposes nine case selection techniques according to the hypothesis type. For the present study, the case selection was based on two techniques: selection of the typical cases and selection of the diverse cases. Typical cases reflect the average individual of the interest group. This can be done using the average values of the relevant selection variables when using quantitative data, or the categories with the highest proportion when the variables are qualitative.

In the selection of diverse cases, the calculation of residuals<sup>27</sup> allowed for the identification of cases with residuals around 0. That is, where the estimate is close to the observed value of the target variable. Since those cases represented other approximations to the typical case in the sample, they were considered a good option for diverse cases

In the case of the international migrants, taking the average and mode of the variables, the typical case is female, employed, a resident in Lima, and employed in elementary occupations. This can be tested by estimating an additional model, equation (1). This can be contrasted by estimating an additional model, for which the demographic labour variables are taken as explanatory variables and income per real hour is selected as the dependent variable in the relationship.

$$\ln \ln y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_i + \epsilon_i \quad (1)$$

Where  $y_i$  is the real hourly income, taken in logarithms, for individual  $i$ ;  $X_i$  is the vector of explanatory variables composed of a dummy equal to 1 when individual  $i$  is a woman, a dummy equal to 1 when individual  $i$  is employed, a vector of dummies for the job types, a vector of dummies with the region originally; and, finally, a vector of dummies for the

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26 In contrast to “large-N” research that can demonstrate both representativeness and variation by randomisation. See: Gerring (2007).

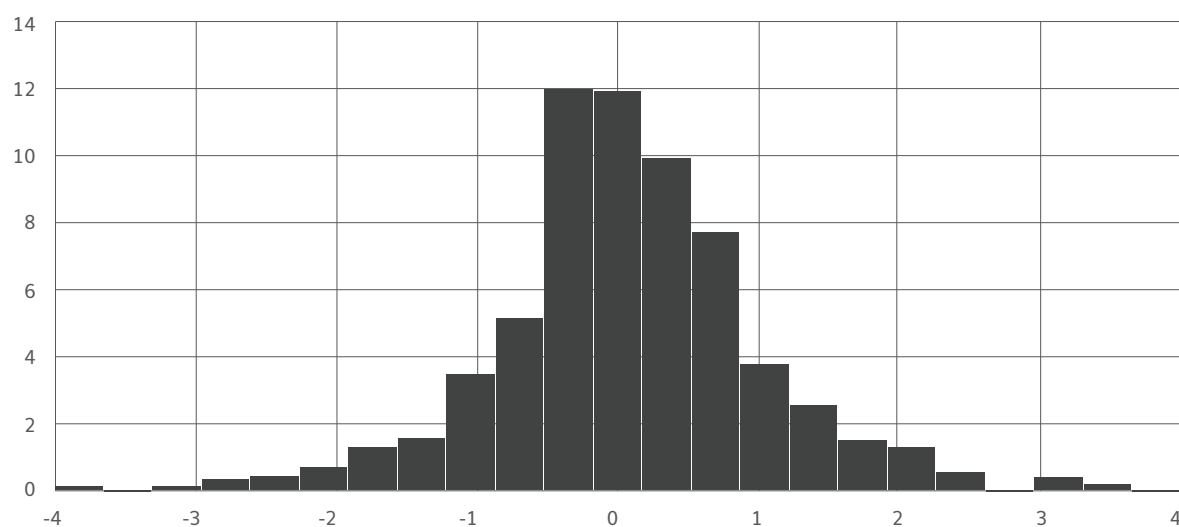
27 A regression was used, with demographic and labour variables as explanatory variables, and income per hour as the dependent variable.

survey year. After estimating the coefficients of equation (1), the residuals are estimated as follows:

$$\hat{e}_i = (\ln \ln y_i - \ln \widehat{\ln y}_i) \quad (2)$$

These residuals reflect the similarity between the observed outcome variable,  $\ln \ln y_i$  and the estimated outcome variable,  $\ln \widehat{\ln y}_i$ . The histogram in Figure A presents the distribution of the estimated residuals in equation (2):

Figure A.



Note. Adapted from the National Household Survey by INEI (2018–2021).

Table A presents the 5 cases centred around 0, where the estimation and the observed values are similar and represent approximations to the typical case in the sample.

Table A.

| Gender | Department | Employment situation | Employment type        |
|--------|------------|----------------------|------------------------|
| Female | Lambayeque | Employed             | Elementary occupations |
| Male   | Apurímac   | Employed             | Technicians            |
| Female | Ayacucho   | Employed             | Elementary occupations |
| Male   | Moquegua   | Employed             | Construction           |
| Female | Lima       | Employed             | Services and commerce  |

Note. Adapted from the National Household Survey by INEI (2018–2021).



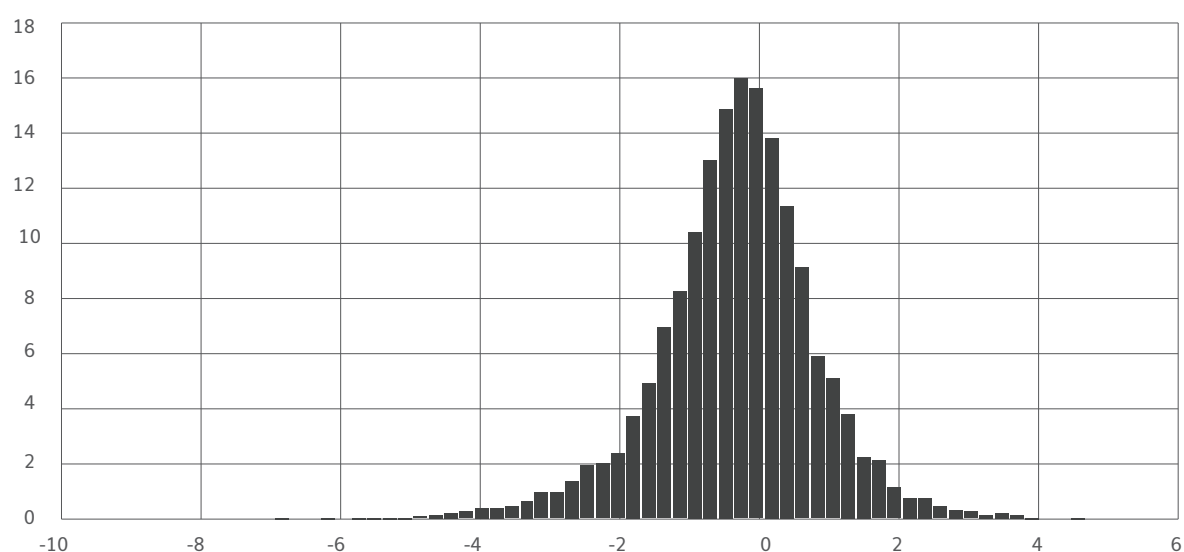
This statistical evaluation provides further support for case selection, especially in the diverse case type. Taking the average case as a typical individual, the variations in Table 6 can be used as inputs for the selection of the diverse case, in particular around the type of employment and the sex of the person. In this way, a sample of three individuals could be selected for the diverse case. We added two extra interviews to expand on information provided by the three representative cases.

### *International migrants, case selection*

- Typical case  
Female resident in Lima with a job in the elementary sector (#1)
- Diverse cases  
Male resident in Lima with a job in the commerce sector (#2)  
Female resident in Lima with a job in the commerce sector (#3)
- Extra  
Female resident in Lima working in elementary occupations  
Male resident in Lima working in elementary occupations

Similarly, the case selection is repeated for the subgroup of recent internal migrants. In this case, the typical case according to a simple average criterion resulted in an employed woman from Lima working in elementary occupations. We also repeated the previous estimation of equations (1) and (2) with this sample. This results in the estimation of residuals presented in Figure B.

Figure B.



Note. Adapted from the National Household Survey by INEI (2018–2021).

Table B presents seven cases centred around 0 in the residuals.

Table B.

| Gender | Department    | Employment situation | Employment type        |
|--------|---------------|----------------------|------------------------|
| Male   | Apurímac      | Employed             | Technicians            |
| Male   | Apurímac      | Employed             | Elementary occupations |
| Female | Madre de Dios | Employed             | Commerce and services  |
| Female | Puno          | Employed             | Commerce and services  |
| Male   | Moquegua      | Employed             | Administrative jobs    |
| Male   | Junín         | Employed             | Technicians            |
| Male   | San Martín    | Employed             | Technicians            |

Note. Adapted from the National Household Survey by INEI (2018–2021).

Since there is a higher proportion of recent internal migrants, a larger sample is collected. Table 7 provides more information for the selection of diverse cases. In this case, the presence of Lima is lower, so other regions of interest, such as San Martín, are included. In the case of the respondents' sex, there is greater parity, so the typical cases take both categories. Finally, employment in services and commerce appears in Table No. 6 and is second according to the number of respondents, so it is also of interest for the diverse cases.

One category of employment that does not appear in Table No. 7 is agricultural and livestock employment. Despite this, it is a relevant category not only at the national level but also within the region of San Martín, also of interest. In summary, 10 cases are raised, two typical and eight diverse. These cases are:

### *Internal migrants, case selection*

- Typical case
  - Employed female, resident in Lima with employment in elementary occupations
  - Employed male, resident in Lima with employment in elementary occupations
- Diverse cases
  - Employed female, resident in Lima with employment in services and commerce

Employed male, resident in Lima with employment in services and commerce

Employed female, resident in San Martin with employment in elementary occupations

Employed male, resident in San Martin with employment in elementary occupations

Employed female, resident in San Martin with employment in services and commerce

Employed male, resident in San Martin with employment in services and commerce

Employed woman resident in San Martin with employment in the agricultural sector

Employed male, resident in San Martin with employment in the agricultural sector

Below, sample (cases) selected by mixed methods procedures for typical and diverse cases.

### **International migrant workers**

*Migrant = Not born in Peru (born in Venezuela)*

#### **Typical case**

1. Woman resident in Lima from occupational group 9 "Elementary Occupations" **(Case #1)**

#### **Diverse cases:**

2. Male resident in Lima from occupational group 5 "Service workers and shop and market vendors" **(Case #2)**

3. Woman resident in Lima from occupational group 5 "Service workers and shop and market vendors" **(Case #3)**

### **Peruvian internal migrant workers**

*Recent migrant = 5 years ago you did not reside permanently in the province in which you currently reside*

#### **Typical cases:**

4. Employed woman resident in Lima from occupational group 9 "Elementary Occupations" **(Case #4)**

5. Employed man resident in Lima from occupational group 9 "Elementary Occupations" **(Case #5)**

#### **Diverse cases:**

6. Employed woman resident in Lima from occupational group 5 "Service workers and shop and market vendors" **(Case #6)**

7. Employed man resident in Lima from occupational group 5 "Service workers and shop and market vendors" **(Case #7)**

8. Employed woman resident in San Martín from occupational group 9 "Elementary Occupations" **(Case #8)**
9. Employed man resident in San Martín from occupational group 9 "Elementary Occupations" **(Case #9)**
10. Employed woman resident in San Martín from occupational group 5 "Service workers and shop and market vendors" **(Case #10)**
11. Employed man resident in San Martín from occupational group 5 "Service workers and shop and market vendors" **(Case #11)**
12. Employed woman resident in San Martín from occupational group 6 "Farmers and skilled agricultural, forestry and fishing workers" **(Case #12)**
13. Employed man resident in San Martín from occupational group 6 "Farmers and skilled agricultural, forestry and fishing workers" **(Case #13)**

The fifteen interviews represented 11 of the 13 selected cases. One additional interview (2 interviews instead of one) was conducted for Case #2, Case #4, Case #7, and Case #9. Cases #5 and #12 were not interviewed because they were very mobile, i.e., travelling frequently to nearby locations to work and stay for days, or because they worked at territories difficult for the researchers to access.

It was not possible to meet the interviewee for Case #12, in the rural district of Chazuta in San Martín, because there was no available transportation to the internal agricultural fields where migrant women work as farmers. However, it was possible to find Case #13 (a man working as a farmer) in a more accessible location in the same rural district. See Appendix 4 for a detailed list of interviews and their sociodemographic characteristics.

In addition to the semi-structured interview questionnaire, the research team sent an invitation letter to participate in the study (provided there was an email or cell phone number and WhatsApp account available) and an informed consent note to be read with the interviewee before the interview<sup>28</sup>. The interview acceptance was verbal and recorded via audio, as was the complete interview. After, the researchers provided a letter of gratitude along with the informed consent note, and also some compensation for the interview. Retrieved information was carefully saved to guarantee confidentiality. The interviewees' real names (even if only first names) in the audio records and the transcriptions were replaced by pseudonyms.

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28 The informed consent included, among other elements presented in the objectives of the study, the type of conversation we were going to start, the confidentiality of the information shared with us, as well as the right of the interviewee to leave the conversation at any time, or skip any question if she/he preferred.

## Appendix 4. International and internal migrant workers, by sociodemographic characteristics

|    | Case type | Pseudonym | Age | Place of birth                                    | Place of residence  | Nationality | Nationality   |
|----|-----------|-----------|-----|---|---|-------------|---------------|
| 1  | Case #1   | Sharon    | 26  | Venezuela / Anzuate, Puerto La Cruz               | Lima, Lima, Magdalena                                       | Venezuelan  | International |
| 2  | Case #2   | Camilo    | 23  | Venezuela /Lara, Barquisimeto                     | Lima, Callao, Bellavista                                    | Venezuelan  | International |
| 3  | Case #2   | Ronald    | 49  | Venezuela/ Caracas                                | Lima, Lima, Chorrillos                                      | Venezuelan  | International |
| 4  | Case #3   | Ana       | 49  | Venezuela   | Lima, Lima, Comas   | Venezuelan  | International |
| 5  | Case # 4  | Carmen    | 60  | Piura, Piura                                      | Lima, Lima, Cercado de Lima                                 | Peruvian    | Internal      |
| 6  | Case # 4  | Lucy      | 45  | Cajamarca, Chota                                  | Lima, Lima, Jesús María                                     | Peruvian    | Internal      |
| 7  | Case #6   | Micaela   | 26  | Huánuco, Tingo María                              | Lima, Lima, Comas   | Peruvian    | Internal      |
| 8  | Case #7   | Tony      | 22  | Piura, Huancabamba, Huancabamba                   | Lima, Lima, La Victoria                                     | Peruvian    | Internal      |
| 9  | Case #7   | David     | 34  | Cusco, Urubamba, Urubamba                         | Lima, Lima, La Victoria (Zona Gamarra)                      | Peruvian    | Internal      |
| 10 | Case #8   | Belú      | 37  | Loreto, Alto Amazonas, Yurimaguas (Pampa Hermosa) | San Martín, San Martín, Banda de Shilcayo (AH ZEI Edén) (*) | Peruvian    | Internal      |
| 11 | Case #9   | Miguel    | 72  | San Martín, Lamas, Rumisapa (Pacchilla)           | San Martín, San Martín, Banda de Shilcayo (AH El Edén)      | Peruvian    | Internal      |
| 12 | Case #9   | Wiñer     | 23  | San Martín, Picota, Pucacaca                      | San Martín, San Martín, Tarapoto.                           | Peruvian    | Internal      |

|    |          |           |    |   |  |          |          |
|----|----------|-----------|----|---|--|----------|----------|
| 13 | Case #10 | Maribel   | 38 | Loreto, Alto Amazonas, Yurimaguas (Pampa Hermosa) | San Martín, San Martín, Banda de Shilcayo (AH 16 de Noviembre) | Peruvian | Internal |
| 14 | Case #11 | Francisco | 44 | San Martín, Lamas, Lamas.                         | San Martín, Lamas, Lamas.                                      | Peruvian | Internal |
| 15 | Case #13 | Mariano   | 68 | Cajamarca, Chota, Tacabamba                       | San Martín, San Martín, Chazuta                                | Peruvian | Internal |

Note. Elaborated by the authors.

## Appendix 5. Tables A, B, and C

Table A. Total population

|                | Employed within the EAP | Active within working-age population | ln (Total income, s/2018) | ln (Monthly working hours) | ln (Total income per hour, Peruvian Sol 2018) |
|----------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|---|
| 2020M9–2020M11 | -0.0012+<br>(-1.68)     | 0.0113***<br>(6.78)                  | -0.1160***<br>(-14.07)    | -0.0265***<br>(-5.24)      | -0.0920***<br>(-10.96)                        |
| 2020M12–2021M2 | -0.0015*<br>(-2.14)     | 0.0170***<br>(10.42)                 | -0.0947***<br>(-11.22)    | -0.0176***<br>(-3.43)      | -0.0722***<br>(-8.26)                         |
| 2021M3–2021M5  | -0.0015*<br>(-2.18)     | 0.0095***<br>(5.86)                  | -0.0805***<br>(-9.52)     | -0.0123*<br>(-2.37)        | -0.0678***<br>(-7.75)                         |
| 2021M6–2021M8  | 0.0003<br>(0.56)        | 0.0063***<br>(3.86)                  | -0.0326***<br>(-3.91)     | 0.0041<br>(0.80)           | -0.0418***<br>(-4.92)                         |
| 2021M9–2021M12 | -0.0004<br>(-0.77)      | 0.0021<br>(1.49)                     | -0.0523***<br>(-7.12)     | -0.0052<br>(-1.13)         | -0.0488***<br>(-6.53)                         |
| N              | 229784                  | 243495                               | 204231                    | 225098                     | 200889  |

|  |        |        |        |        |        |
|--|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Pre-pandemic averages (percentages and logs) | 0.9601 | 0.7324 | 6.3224 | 4.9637 | 1.334  |
| By levels                                    |        |        | 1074.3 | 170.94 | 7.3049 |

Note. t-statistic in parentheses. There are no migrant data between 2020M4–2020M8, so data for these periods are omitted from the initial estimate. The base category for the quarterly dummies is 2018M1–2020M3. The regressions control for sex, occupation type, age, years of education, and rurality. Additionally, in the earnings and hours of work regressions, we control for informal employment. Department-level fixed effects are omitted.  
+ p<0.10 \* p<0.05 \*\* p<0.01 \*\*\* p<0.001

Table B.

|                | Internal migrant (Peruvian, recent)<br>ln (Total income per hour, Peruvian Sol 2018) |                                      |                           |                            |   | International migrant (foreign) |                                      |                           |                            |   |
|----------------|--|--------------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|---|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|---|
|                | Employed within the EAP  | Active within working-age population | ln (Total income, s/2018) | ln (Monthly working hours) | ln (Total income per hour, Peruvian Sol 2018) | Employed within the EAP         | Active within working-age population | ln (Total income, s/2018) | ln (Monthly working hours) | ln (Total income per hour, Peruvian Sol 2018) |
| 2020M9–2020M11 | -0.0010<br>(-1.37)   | 0.0099***<br>(5.42)                  | -0.0745***<br>(-8.00)     | -0.0123*<br>(-2.14)        | -0.0660***<br>(-7.04)                         | -0.0010<br>(-1.34)              | 0.01020***<br>(5.58)                 | -0.0735***<br>(-7.93)     | -0.0125*<br>(-2.19)        | -0.0646***<br>(-6.92)                         |
| 2020M12–2021M2 | -0.0011<br>(-1.50)   | 0.0159***<br>(8.96)                  | -0.0739***<br>(-7.93)     | -0.0125*<br>(-2.21)        | -0.0580***<br>(-6.02)                         | -0.0011<br>(-1.48)              | 0.0161***<br>(9.09)                  | -0.0738***<br>(-7.94)     | -0.0119*<br>(-2.12)        | -0.0583***<br>(-6.07)                         |
| 2021M3–2021M5  | -0.0016*<br>(-2.22)  | 0.0096***<br>(5.89)                  | -0.0812***<br>(-9.55)     | -0.0134**<br>(-2.58)       | -0.0675***<br>(-7.67)                         | -0.0015*<br>(-2.21)             | 0.0098***<br>(5.99)                  | -0.0812***<br>(-9.59)     | -0.0130*<br>(-2.51)        | -0.0677***<br>(-7.72)                         |
| 2021M6–2021M8  | 0.0003<br>(0.64)   | 0.0064***<br>(3.91)                  | -0.0356***<br>(-4.25)     | 0.0027<br>(0.52)           | -0.0435***<br>(-5.10)                         | 0.0003<br>(0.63)                | 0.0064***<br>(3.93)                  | -0.0344***<br>(-4.12)     | 0.0027<br>(0.54)           | -0.0423***<br>(-4.98)                         |
| 2021M9–2021M12 | -0.0004<br>(-0.79)   | 0.0021<br>(1.48)                     | -0.0556***<br>(-7.53)     | -0.0072<br>(-1.55)         | -0.0501***<br>(-6.66)                         | -0.0004<br>(-0.79)              | 0.0023<br>(1.61)                     | -0.0536***<br>(-7.29)     | -0.0064<br>(-1.39)         | -0.0488***<br>(-6.52)                         |
| Being migrant  | -0.0010<br>(-1.11)   | 0.0093***<br>(4.70)                  | 0.1010***<br>(9.63)       | 0.0324***<br>(4.83)        | 0.0791***<br>(7.40)                           | 0.0044***<br>(4.29)             | 0.0032<br>(0.78)                     | 0.0997***<br>(3.75)       | 0.1080***<br>(5.51)        | -0.0078<br>(-0.30)                            |
| N              | 221383   | 234637                               | 197078                    | 216973                     | 193931  | 222383                          | 235665                               | 198024                    | 217961                     | 194867  |

Note. t-statistic in parentheses. There are no migrant data between 2020M4–2020M8 so data for these periods are omitted from the initial estimate. The base category for the quarterly dummies is 2018M1–2020M3. The regressions control for sex, occupation type, age, years of education, and rurality. Additionally, in the earnings and hours of work regressions, we control for informal employment. Department-level fixed effects are omitted.  
+ p<0.10 \* p<0.05 \*\* p<0.01 \*\*\* p<0.001

Table C.

|                                  | Internal migrants       |                                      |                           |                            |   | International migrants  |                                      |                           |                            |   |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|---|-------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|---|
|                                  | Employed within the EAP | Active within working-age population | ln (Total income, s/2018) | ln (Monthly working hours) | ln (Total income per hour, Peruvian Sol 2018) | Employed within the EAP | Active within working-age population | ln (Total income, s/2018) | ln (Monthly working hours) | ln (Total income per hour, Peruvian Sol 2018) |
| (2020M9–2020M11) x Being migrant | -0.0031                 | 0.01810*                             | -0.0689                   | -0.0128                    | -0.0572                                       | 0.0049*                 | 0.0306*                              | -0.0538                   | -0.0756                    | 0.0290  |
|                                  | (-0.65)                 | (2.23)                               | (-1.61)                   | (-0.47)                    | (-1.28)                                       | (2.13)                  | (2.10)                               | (-0.56)                   | (-1.01)                    | (0.31)  |
| (2020M12–2021M2) x Being migrant | -0.0041                 | 0.0268***                            | -0.110*                   | -0.0321                    | -0.0725                                       | -0.2401+                | 0.0444                               | -0.248*                   | -0.2401+                   | 0.0444  |
|                                  | (-0.86)                 | (3.84)                               | (-2.57)                   | (-1.20)                    | (-1.57)                                       | (-1.65)                 | (0.49)                               | (-2.26)                   | (-1.65)                    | (0.49)  |
| (2021M3–2021M5) x Being migrant  | 0.0010                  | 0.0052                               | -0.0592                   | -0.0086                    | -0.0523                                       | 0.0033                  | 0.0223+                              | -0.1610+                  | 0.0264                     | -0.157+                                       |
|                                  | (0.28)                  | (0.64)                               | (-1.47)                   | (-0.34)                    | (-1.28)                                       | (1.62)                  | (1.75)                               | (-1.77)                   | (0.38)                     | (-1.65)                                       |
| (2021M6–2021M8) x Being migrant  | 0.0003                  | 0.0030                               | -0.0191                   | -0.0140                    | -0.0168                                       | 0.0017                  | -0.0059                              | 0.0388                    | -0.0283                    | 0.0640  |
|                                  | (0.11)                  | (0.41)                               | (-0.49)                   | (-0.60)                    | (-0.44)                                       | (0.91)                  | (-0.34)                              | (0.36)                    | (-0.33)                    | (0.60)  |
| (2021M9–2021M12) x Being migrant | 0.0027                  | 0.0077                               | -0.0550                   | 0.0177                     | -0.0779*                                      | 0.0018                  | 0.0185                               | 0.1300+                   | 0.0795                     | 0.0464  |
|                                  | (1.01)                  | (1.20)                               | (-1.54)                   | (0.84)                     | (-2.13)                                       | (0.90)                  | (1.59)                               | (1.80)                    | (1.38)                     | (0.64)  |
| Being migrant                    | -0.0012                 | 0.0081**                             | 0.0995***                 | 0.0320***                  | 0.0792***                                     | 0.0026                  | -0.0021                              | 0.0848*                   | 0.0998***                  | -0.0193                                       |
|                                  | (-1.12)                 | (3.27)                               | (7.69)                    | (3.71)                     | (5.97)  | (1.51)                  | (-0.36)                              | (2.42)                    | (3.97)                     | (-0.55)                                       |
| N                                | 221383                  | 234637                               | 197078                    | 216973                     | 193931  | 222383                  | 235665                               | 198024                    | 217961                     | 194867  |

Note. t-statistic in parentheses. There are no migrant data between 2020M4–2020M8 so data for these periods are omitted from the initial estimate. The base category for the quarterly dummies is 2018M1–2020M3. The regressions control for sex, occupation type, age, years of education, and rurality. Additionally, in the earnings and hours of work regressions, we control for informal employment. Department-level fixed effects are omitted.

+ p<0.10 \* p<0.05 \*\* p<0.01 \*\*\* p<0.001





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